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TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1388

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QUALITY OF PARTY MEMBERSHIP DISCUSSED

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Jan 77 pp 81-86

[Article by Solli Vide: "The Decisive Role in the Marxist-Leninist Party Is Played by the Quality of Its Members"]

[Text] Comrade Enver Hoxha has constantly admonished that we must above all keep the party strong in quality. Ever since its creation he has been pointing out that those who are conscientious, loyal, convinced, steely, disciplined, unafraid and untainted by anything alien may take part in the party's ranks, and that without those qualities no one may be a party member.

The primary stressing of the quality of the true revolutionary party of the working class and of its members is of great and decisive importance, for, as Marxism-Leninism teaches us and as has been shown by many, many facts and practices, the quantity and numerical increase of communists do not always bespeak party strength. Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed that this strength is shown not so much by the growth in the number of party members as by the quality of the "steel" that makes up the party.

Since this is so, our party has constantly made a thorough dialectic analysis of the relation between quantity and quality in its makeup and, in order to respond to the great and complex tasks set by the revolution and our socialist construction and by the further growth and strengthening of the party's leading role in all fields of life, it has always given priority to the quality of its ranks and their continual strengthening, treating it as a principal and permanent task.

It is for this reason that those who have served and are serving in our party are among the best sons and daughters of the working class, the peasantry and the other working masses, who, in the work and struggle to perform the tasks with which membership in the party charges them, are being annealed as vanguard fighters, as true revolutionaries in thought, work and life for the enforcement of the general line of the party. And it is likewise for these reasons that our party during its 35 years of existence has always remained revolutionary, has successfully resisted the fierce attacks of external and internal enemies and has always emerged victorious from every

every battle, ever playing its leading and vanguard role as a true Marxist-Leninist party unswervingly following a revolutionary line.

The continual education of all communists in the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the teachings of our party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, as well as their continual annealing with the lofty features of the communist in the fire of revolutionary line and policy, are a vital necessity in order that they may always be resolute and consistent fighters in facing and successfully performing the tasks set and that the party may always be pure and strong and its leading role may grow without interruption.

This education and annealing are needed by all, not just the young communists, but also those with long recodes in the party, so that they may not become ossified and bureaucratized and may not lapse into passivity. Being in the party requires that its members be communists not just in words, but in deeds, with a sound proletarian spirit in work and life; that they think, work, struggle and live in accordance with the norms, fervor, justice, courage and heroism demanded by the revolution, the construction of socialism and the classless society.

This high mission demands that the party member ask himself every day and every hour: "Do I have the proper revolutionary qualities for a communist?" And he himself must primarily give the answer to this question, gauging himself by the demands made by the party with regard to the qualities of the party member. But this must also be concluded by every local organization for each of its members. The local organization is precisely the place where communists are armed to do work and battle, where they anneal their revolutionary qualities. There is where the problems are posed and discussed from theoretical and practical viewpoints; where the obstacles and difficulties that arise are brought to light and the ways to overcome them are shown. It is there, in the local organization, that the party's line and policy are analyzed and communists are trained to face and perform the tasks. It is there, in the local organization and in its daily struggle, in revolution and the class struggle, that the new qualities and virtues of the communist are annealed, but one also discovers the laggards who do not march with the times, with the vanguard, or who exploit their presence in the party to insure some privilege. And there are such, for communists and their qualities do not stand still: they undergo in time both positive and negative, both progressive and regressive changes. This cannot fail to be taken into account in the party's work. Hence, the care to keep alive and strengthen still more the revolutionary features of communists is and will remain a permanent task for every local organization, since this improves and strengthens qualitatively not only their makeup, but also the militant and revolutionary activity of the whole party, its leading educational organizing and mobilizing role.

Hence, the party has constantly insisted that the educational, ideological and organizational work of its organizations and organs shall serve fully to enable communists everywhere, in every case and any circumstances to

involve themselves with all their energies in enforcing the party line, the laws of the state and the norms of our socialist society, orienting themselves correctly and quickly on every problem and rightly understanding the reality in which they operate.

The realization of the great tasks set by the present stage of our socialist construction poses the requirement that all workers, but primarily the party members, shall further develop their communist ideopolitical and moral qualities. By raising these qualities to a higher degree, the party will be strengthened, the tasks will be coped with better, the imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement, against which we have set our united internal front, will be successfully resisted with such qualities as ideological clarity, political keenness, the revolutionary determination of the communists and the masses, as well as their ability to move the revolution and our socialist construction forward under any kind of circumstances.

The sound situation characterizing our party does not give any local organization, cadre or communist the right to think that they have nothing more to do in strengthening the party qualitatively. Under conditions in which the class struggle is being carried on even within the party ranks, communists have to be taken as they are in reality. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that they are not all alike and that there are and will constantly be disparities in their qualities and ideo-theoretical upbringing. For example, there are party members who master Marxist-Leninist theory, orient themselves correctly, apply it and the party's policy and nevertheless feel it necessary to learn during their whole life to serve the party ever better. But there are also some others who, though they know Marxist-Leninist theory fundamentally, feel self-complacency and make no effort to mold themselves; just as there are also those who, having a superficial knowledge of some things, are not at all interested in learning and raising their level. Such a disparity in the molding of communists, Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, also brings about disparities in their attitudes and practical activity, and has the result that, alongside of communists who are ideologically and politically molded as they should be and who properly combine theory with practice and are distinguished by high qualities, there are also party members who rely on a narrow practicality, do not know how to use the party's teachings as a compass, are hampered in life by petty-bourgeois vices, conceit and arrogance, and are not on the forefront of work and struggle as they should be.

The party teaches us that there can be no revolutionary local organization without revolutionary communists. Therefore, it demands that every communist shall march ever forward with the times, with its demands, with a broad ideo-theoretical, cultural and scientific horizon, causing them to be ever on their feet, vigilant, mobilized and combative, being guided at every step and in every action by the party's ideology and teachings. And these qualities are gained by studying and assimilating Marxist-Leninist theory, the teachings of our party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, as well as through revolutionary practice, in the fire of daily constructive work and the class struggle.

The party has constantly called attention to the fact that the educational work of annealing the quality of the party members must be continually strengthened and perfected. And this is understandable. Our party is a party fighting for a great deal, for the construction of socialism, for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism. The leading role belonging to the party and the great mission which it performs in this process, as the vanguard and leading detachment of the working class, unquestionably require that its members be characterized by high and thoroughly proletarian, communist qualities. Being a communist and filling a vanguard role, it was declared at the Seventh Party Congress, means being a political militant, a social activist and an outstanding worker; it means standing in the forefront of the revolutionary class struggle being waged by the party in all fields of life, ideological, political, economic, military and so forth; it means seeing and evaluating problems always with a political eye, making revolution with oneself and with others, not sparing one's life for the cause of the party, for strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and the defense of the fatherland, making efforts to assimilate Marxist-Lenist theory in close conjunction with revolutionary practice, serving worthily in the mass organizations and doing one's best as an agitator, propagandist and organizer of them in enforcing and defending the party line.

The party has viewed and continues to view the fight to maintain and strengthen the quality of its ranks in close conjunction with the quality of new admissions and hence with the quality of work in increasing its ranks with new, pure blood. Therefore, it has demanded and continues to demand that the quality of admittances shall in no way be affected in thinking about and working in a systematic and programmed manner for an increase in its ranks. The point is that the requirements and norms of the party statute and the orders of the Central Committee on new admissions shall be correctly applied so that only sound revolutionary elements worthily deserving the title of communist will enter the party.

The mass organizations are powerful levers of the party to insure its close, well organized ties with the masses, as well as their mobilization to enforce its policy. As such, they are a great reserve and inexhaustible source for the political, ideological and organizational training and annealing of elements to swell the party ranks. Therefore, the party has constantly directed that its organizations and all communists shall devote special care to all-around political, ideological, educational, organizational and mobilizing work in these organizations. That is where the masses are, and where they are activated; and that is where the communists must be, and where they too must be activated. The broad working masses, as well as thousands and thousands of distinguished activists are molded and annealed through the activity of those organizations. And it is precisely through this activity that the most outstanding, the most revolutionary, are trained and brought to light: Those who are characterized by communist properties and form an inexhaustible reserve from which the best are chosen to be admitted to the party for normal, uninterrupted, high quality growth in its ranks.

But it must be stated that there are still party organizations and communists which, having a false conception of the problem of admissions to the party as a matter of campaigns and as a duty for only a few communists and failing to work in a well studied manner and with perspective in this direction, underrate the work within the mass organizations and thus divest themselves of the great possibilities afforded by the activity of those organizations for training and getting to know the element suited for admission to the party ranks. So it has happened in some cases that poorly controlled persons have also joined the party's ranks, persons who have not had all the requisite conditions and qualities for being communists, and who either have been unable to stand the probation test for candidate of the party or else have not marched forward at all with the vanguard though they have been admitted to the party.

A big positive role in seeing to it that persons with a sound political-social makeup, pure in morals and character, capable and active, get into the party is played in involvement of the thinking of the masses regarding the matter of admissions to the party as well, since it is the masses, among whom he who has sought to be admitted to the party works and lives, that know him better from every viewpoint than anyone else. Practice has shown that the opinion of a few communists alone or even of a local organization about some person has in some cases not been complete or exact, whereas, when the opinion of the masses has been sought, they have made corrections, additions and checks with sound and correct data and opinions.

But involvement of the opinion of the masses, as for everything else, and all the more in a matter so vital for the party, must be done well and not formally, as is the case sometimes when it is said in passing at some casual mass meeting that "such-and-such a worker has asked to be admitted to the party. What do you think?" and that is all. Such formal meetings, which are held hastily and without any preparation, do not help the local organization. The party and Comrade Enver Hoxha teach us that he who asks to be admitted to the party must appear before the masses and give his biography, and the recommenders must also say how they know him and state the grounds for issuing a recommendation for his admission to the party. Then, other workers must tell about his attitude and working qualities, the behavior and past of the person recommended. The party local organization should prepare these meetings with care, assure the workers of the time needed to think and judge about the applicant for admission to the party and choose the most suitable time for the meeting, so that this very important work may not be done just to past muster. Other forms for involving the opinion of the masses in this matter may also be used, such as conversations in the party manner which communists hold individually with workers who are familiar with the present attitude at work, in the family and society, as well as the past of the applicant for admission to the party.

Of special importance for the quality of admissions to the party are also recommendations made by party members, as well as those made by the Youth Organizations concerning those who are members of them. The Party Central Committee has always directed that the recommenders shall feel full

responsibility for the recommendations they make, since the recommendation of an applicant for admission to the party is not a casual formality, or a simple and ordinary statement of characteristics, but a quite important document having to do with the qualitative strengthening of the party. Therefore, every word must be well weighed and grounded, its veracity must be vouched for, and light must be thrown on everything having to do with the moral-political figure of the recommendee, on his attitude to work and his work qualities, in life, in society; and on the properties of his character. In this sense, the responsibility of the recommender is quite great, since the local organization will judge and decide on the basis of what he writes, and things must be represented to it as they are, with the greatest veracity and correct evaluations.

It is noted in practice that recommendations are now issued with more responsibility, free of general, merely laudatory and usually dry phrases. However, there are still cases where they suffer from these shortcomings, in which one does not find the moral-political qualities of the person expressed as clearly and evidenced as well as they should be, that is, what distinguishes him from others, where and for what he is noted in his work, his life, the class struggle, as well as what shortcomings and weaknesses are noted in him. This is either due to the fact that the recommender has not followed the one he recommends for admission to the party in the dynamics of his progress and in all the aspects of his life, and, as a result, he has only a partial, and sometimes also superficial knowledge of him, or because of his formal, irresponsible attitude, and sometimes also out of favoritism and friendship in this matter. As a result, recommendations have even been issued to some persons who have not had the conditions required for membership in the party. Such irresponsible recommenders, with opportunistic and liberal attitudes, due to the lack of vigilance on the part of some local party organizations, are also involved in cases where the party had admitted persons with a poor political makeup, who have been rightly excluded during the candidate stage as unworthy to be in its ranks.

The responsible issuance of recommendations has to do with the quality of admissions to the party, with the quality of the party itself, since it is through recommendations that party members and the youth organizations assure the party that the recommendee has all the conditions for becoming a member. Hence the time of not less than 3 years fixed for the recommendee must be used to gain an all-around knowledge of the work, the behavior in society, in the family, and the life of the applicant for admission to the party.

Also of great importance in continually strengthening the quality of the party's ranks is the strengthening of its social makeup, as well as the question of what sectors the most new blood in the party should be drawn from.

The Seventh Party Congress gave the orientation that "in the future too the party will give priority to swelling its ranks from the working class,"--a problem that the party has always kept and is still keeping in the center of its attention. The uninterrupted growth of the role of the working class under socialism poses as a prime question the increase and continual

strengthening of its party, its leading staff, with the most revolutionary, most determined and most progressive representatives of the class. We now have in our country a working class that is appreciably developed on both the quantitative and the qualitative side, a working class that is an exponent of the ideals of socialism and communism, with a high degree of class consciousness, playing the hegemonic role everywhere and setting the tone for the whole life of the country. Therefore, it has filled the party ranks and will continue to do so in the future.

But the quality of the party is also affected by the question of what sectors the workers admitted to the party will come from. So the seventh party congress has set the task of "making a greater effort to see to it that more workers from the main branches of production, especially of heavy industry, extractive and processing, and the major projects, workers with the highest degree of class consciousness, are admitted to the party from the working class. The importance and great value of this orientation lie in the fact that the admission of more workers from the main branches of production will not only bring into the party communists who incarnate the best qualities of the working class, but a part of them will pass according to need into other sectors and branches of activity to strengthen those sectors and branches, as well as to strengthen the managing cadres in the party, the government, the economy, the mass organizations, and elsewhere.

But while giving priority, as always, to swelling the party ranks from the working class, the Seventh Party Congress pointed out that the strengthening of the party with cooperativist communists always remains an important task, especially for some districts where an unjustifiable decline in the percentage of cooperativist communists has occurred. It stressed the fact that the aim is to have the communists with this social status enter into second place, after the workers, in the party's composition in the prospective future.

Of extraordinary value for the continual strengthening of the quality of the party ranks through new admissions is, in general, the clear orientation of the party that the soundest new admissions are those which bring in outstanding activists, determined persons loyal to the party's cause, principally persons from the sectors in which material goods are produced, from the most difficult fronts. Practice has shown that the most important and difficult work fronts are anvils on which men are best annealed; where the conditions for major tests are, which sift men from the ideological and political standpoints, as to qualities and revolutionary activity; where steadfastness, courage, the spirit of sacrifice and other communist qualities are best brought out and truly tested.

The Seventh Party Congress stressed that, in devoting special care to quality where it is a matter of infusing new blood into the party, consideration must always be given the need to extend and distribute the party's forces as correctly as possible, in close conjunction with the conditions under which every local organization operates, in order to have communists everywhere, in all sectors,

departments, brigades and fronts covered by the local organization. Wherever the class is, wherever the masses are, there must the party be too, Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us. This is not a merely technical and administrative problem of quantitative reports, serving merely to regulate the numerical distribution of communists, but a big problem having to do mainly with the qualitative strengthening of the party itself and its work, which creates the conditions for the local organizations to be as close as possible to the masses and their problems, to be in a better position to guide them. Therefore, the party, laying stress on quality, has constantly directed that we raise to a higher degree, improve and further intensify the ideological and organizational work of bringing new, pure blood into the party in those sectors, regions and local organizations where there is more need for party strength. In particular, new, pure blood is needed by those organizations in which life is lukewarm and there is a breach of unity, or which have had no admissions for years and are having trouble in performing the tasks set; where the communists have family, clan or intermarriage relations and are negatively influenced by them; where there are departments and brigades without a single communist; and so forth. In this respect too, we need to be guided by the party's teachings to fight both against manifestations of liberalism, and opportunism, which harm the quality of admissions to the party, and against manifestations of sectarianism, bureaucratism and conservatism, which impede the infusion of new blood into the party.

The probationary period of the candidate is a component part of the whole matter of new admissions to the party. The party organizations have now gained good experience in dealing with this problem. The party candidates in general take an active part in work, principally in productive work, on difficult fronts, in national and local drives, and during this period they are given an intensive ideological and political education. Nevertheless, the Seventh Party Congress pointed out that not enough attention has been devoted to the testing and ideological and organizational training of the candidates before acceptance as such and also during the probationary period. It is precisely for these reasons that there have been expulsions from the ranks of party candidates during these last two years.

The party teaches us that the probationary period for candidates is of indisputable importance for the quality of admissions and of the party itself. Therefore, every local party organization, reflecting on this question, should expose the shortcomings and weaknesses of its own work and increase its care for the ideological training and annealing of candidates, for the carefully studied direction of their probationary period, in order to further perfect this well proven system of revolutionary annealing, to the end that the candidates during the whole period may be in the forefront of work, disciplined, men of courage and sacrifice, resolved to defend the party line, tied to the working masses and the peasants, dear to their comrades, severe toward their errors and shortcomings and those of others, which qualities are indispensable for a future member of the party.

All these problems and tasks set by the Seventh Party Congress require that more care to the work of maintaining the purity of the party ranks, and of strengthening the party qualitatively and not execute the orientations and tasks mechanically, but always in a creative manner and in full accord with the principles and norms of party statute, so as not to affect the quality of the party in any case. This becomes all the more necessary if we take into account the grand and very important tasks set by the Seventh Party Congress in all fields of life especially for the continual strengthening of the party and its leading role in the whole life of the country.

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IMPORTANCE OF PRINCIPLE OF SELF-RELIANCE

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Jan 77 pp 40-55

[Article by Harilla Papajorfji and Kico Kapetani: "Let Us Understand More Thoroughly and Apply Continually the Revolutionary Principle of Self-Reliance"]

[Text] "The full construction of the socialist society is closely linked with the understanding and application of the principle of self-reliance at every step and in every field of life. This great Marxist-Leninist principle with a deep revolutionary content is not only a natural law of the construction of socialism, but also an imperative necessity under our country's conditions in order to resist successfully the blockades and encirclement by our enemies."

Enver Hoxha

The report rendered by Comrade Enver Hoxha to the seventh party congress draws generalizations of great theoretical and practical importance from our experience and that of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movement regarding the application of that principle with a deep political and ideological content and of very great importance for the present and future of the revolution, socialist construction and the defense of the fatherland. "The road that our country has traveled," declared Comrade Enver Hoxha, "has daily strengthened more and more the faith of the people in the rightness of the course pursued by the party, in the great possibilities existing for advancing the full construction of the socialist society in reliance on our own material and human resources" (Enver Hoxha, Report to the Seventh Party Congress, p 86).

Self-Reliance Is a Natural Law of Socialist Construction and the Defense of the Fatherland, an Imperative Necessity Under our Country's Conditions.

The principle of self-reliance has been consistently and continuously applied by our party ever since its founding. It stems from the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the internal factor is decisive and determinative both in the fight for the victory of the revolution and the seizure of power by the

working class and in the struggle to build socialism and defend the country. The external factor, on the other hand, does not exercise its influence directly, but through the internal factor.

But in practice there are cases where this principle is not understood and treated rightly in all its depth, being conditioned merely and solely upon the imperialist-revisionist encirclement. Rather than as a principle with universal value for the revolution and the construction of socialism, it is thus conceived as a requirement linked solely with certain political, economic and social conditions and circumstances. Such a conception is incomplete. It leads one to narrow the horizon and the fields in which that principle finds and must find application, and weakens the struggle and efforts of the working masses to apply it consistently in all fields of life.

The fierce imperialist-revisionist encirclement, the many blockades and pressures of the imperialist and revisionist enemies, have exercised and are at present exercising their influence on our economic-social development. Hence, they also make strong reliance on our own forces more pronounced, more imperative. But never have they in any way been the sole factors, or even the determining ones. The party has stressed and continues to stress the fact that, to successfully resist this encirclement, the pressures, the blockades and the influences of the general crisis of capitalism, to smash all the obstacles and remove the many difficulties deriving therefrom, all of our people must work and battle constantly with courage and unconquerable faith in their own forces and rely strongly on our internal human, material and monetary resources.

Self-reliance stems directly from the Marxist-Leninist thesis of the decisive role of the people, the broad working masses, in the development of society. "The principle of self-reliance," said Comrade Enver Hoxha at the Seventh Party Congress, "requires above all that we rely strongly on the creative, mental and physical energies of the people led by the party. Socialism is the work of the masses; therefore, everything produced or created is the fruit of the labor, sweat and minds of the people." (Enver Hoxha, Report to the Seventh Party Congress, p 86).

The role of the broad working masses in the work of socialist construction has been growing along with their ideological and political annealing, along with their growth from the educational and cultural viewpoint and with their equipment with the necessary scientific and vocational knowledge. Our working class, annealed politically and ideologically and elevated from the cultural and vocational viewpoint; the cooperativist peasants, who are resolutely following the example of the working class; and the great army of popular intelligentsia, of cadres and specialists in all the branches of the economy and culture, under the party's leadership, constitute the basic factor conditioning and guaranteeing wide and all-around reliance on our own forces for the solution of the great tasks set by socialist construction and the defense of the fatherland.

Our experience shows in a clear and convincing manner how right and vital this Marxist-Leninist thesis has been and still is. The party did not wait for liberty to be brought to us by others, but aroused the whole people in the War of National Liberation, created the National Liberation Army and the cadres in the midst of the fighting; and the people took armaments from the enemy, fed the National Liberation Army, clothed, shod and sheltered it. The party created its own experience in revolutionary warfare, creatively applying the teachings of Marxism-Leninism under our conditions.

This principle has been and is being applied in our country in a consistent manner during the whole period of socialist construction, a period filled with tempest, menaces, pressures and blockades. To realize this principle in socialist construction it has been constantly borne in mind that the insurance of political independence opens the way to strengthening economic independence, while the insurance of economic independence in turn strengthens and consolidates political independence. It is for this reason that the party has continually adhered without vacillation to the course of strong reliance on the internal resources in building a self-active many-branched economy, with heavy and light industry--extractive and processing--with an advanced agriculture in the plains and the mountains, capable of guaranteeing the undetained forward march of socialism; in developing a culture, education, science and art strongly grounded on the national soil; in insuring a powerful defense capable of meeting any possible aggression and attack by the imperialist and revisionist enemies.

The imperialists and social imperialists rant about the "noble," "brotherly," "internationalist" aid that they give to other countries. But as clearly shown by all historical experience, it is wholly naive and absurd to think that these sworn enemies of revolution and socialism do not have near or far imperialist, neocolonialist and protectionist aims. It is totally naive to believe that their so-called aid and credits aim at developing the national economy of the countries receiving that "aid" and credit, or that they guarantee the economic and political independence of those countries. On the contrary, every offer of "aid" or credits by the capitalist states, especially by the superpowers, has only one aim: neocolonialist and colonialist subjugation and enslavement, the loss of political and economic independence. By their propaganda the imperialists and revisionists hope to weaken the faith of the peoples in the possibility of building a sovereign life and, in general, their existence as free nations and countries, and to sow and disseminate the psychosis that they cannot develop as a free nation without relying on a great power. Hence, the Soviet revisionists interpret the application of the principle of self-reliance sometimes as a "lapse into positions of narrow nationalism" and "departure from the positions of internationalism," sometimes as "isolation and retirement into the national shell," or as "autarchic development." The same is done by the American imperialists and the other imperialist powers. And so all of them together, imperialists and social imperialists, have the aim of preparing the most favorable ground and justifying the insertion of their talons of colonialist and neocolonialist expansion and exploitation everywhere and of weakening

the resistance of the various peoples and countries to that expansion and exploitation.

Our party, remaining loyal to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, has unmasked and refuted these reactionary "theories" and all the neocolonialist practices of the imperialists and the revisionists.

Our imperialist and revisionist enemies loudly charge that Albania has remained an isolated country because of the course we have followed. "This," said Comrade Enver Hoxha to the Seventh Party Congress, "is viewing things through capitalist-revisionist eyes. The imperialists and revisionists describe as "isolated" a country that has shut its doors to invasion by enslaving loans, by tourists and spies, by decadent culture and degeneration. From this angle we are indeed and will consciously remain an isolated country." (Enver Hoxha, Report to the Seventh Party Congress, p 233). Actually, socialist Albania is not isolated at all; on the contrary, it has many, many friends, an honored name and high prestige everywhere in the world. The open and correct Marxist-Leninist policy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is respected and appreciated by the revolutionary and progressive forces, and they also value all the accomplishments and advances made by our country in the years of the people's rule, and by the art and culture of our people. Meanwhile, our country has expanded its relations with the states that are in favor of respecting the well-known principles of equality, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs, and mutual advantage. Today, our country maintains diplomatic and trade relations with 74 different states of the world, and, above all, relations of fraternal friendship and combat unity, cooperation and mutual international aid have been developed and strengthened with the People's Republic of China.

As pointed out in the Seventh Party Congress, self-reliance not only does not exclude collaboration and mutual aid between the revolutionary forces and the socialist countries, but even presupposes it. It is an important internationalist duty not only in the interest of the country receiving that aid, but also for the one giving it. For the victories of socialism and the revolution in every country simultaneously also serve the victory of revolution in other countries, its victory over capitalism and revisionism.

Historical experience has furnished and is furnishing many facts to prove that any defection, in any form whatsoever, from the principle of self-reliance leads ultimately to an undermining of the victories won, to the shaking of the bases of socialism and the restoration of capitalist relationships. Hence, so long as the full victory of socialism on a worldwide scale has not been insured and the danger of a backward turn exists, the more necessary does it become for every socialist country, as well as every liberation and revolutionary movement, to rely on its own forces to win, keep and consolidate the national independence and the socialist victories, to resist every possible aggression from without, and to smash any attempt by internal enemies to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and our revolutionary experience, Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized once more at the Seventh Party Congress that "our party has defended and is defending the view that self-reliance is not a temporary or "conjunctural" policy, but an objective necessity for every country, large or small, advanced or backward; a principle applicable both to wars of liberation and proletarian revolution and the construction of socialism and the defense of the fatherland." (Enver Hoxha, Report to the Seventh Congress, p 84).

The categorical stand of our party and country on the application of the principle of self-reliance has also been affirmed in the provisions of the new constitution approved last month by the People's Assembly. Article 14 stresses that "The Social People's Republic of Albania relies chiefly upon its own forces in the construction of socialism." To maintain the independence of the fatherland in the political and economic fields, and to defend our political, economic and social order and keep it intact, the Constitution of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania affirms that the establishment of foreign military bases and forces will not be permitted on the territory of our socialist fatherland, not will the granting of concessions or the creation of foreign economic and financial companies and institutions, or consortiums with capitalist, bourgeois or revisionist monopolies, or the acceptance of credits from them. The affirmation of these things in the Constitution expresses clearly, without any equivocation, the determination of our party and people to maintain and consolidate our political, economic and social sovereignty, and to guarantee the construction of socialism and the defense of the fatherland.

Casting a glance at the 35-year course traveled by our people under the leadership of the party for national and social liberation, for the establishment and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the construction of socialism and the defense of the fatherland, one sees everywhere as clearly as daylight the correctness of the party's general line, and hence also the correctness of the consistent application of the principle of self-reliance.

By constantly applying the course of standing on our own two feet, both agriculture and industry, it has been possible for our country to have today a powerful industry and a modern agriculture; and for some time now we have entered upon the path of becoming an industrial-agricultural country.

The rate of our country's development, in spite of the many-sided blockades, has been higher than in any other European country. In 1975, social production and the national income nearly tripled over 1960, total industrial production grew 3.9 times, total agricultural production 2.3 times, the volume of capital investments 2.9 , the circulation of retail goods 2.3 times, the number of higher cadres 6.4 times, and so forth. It is a great success of the general line and economic policy of the party that the rate of development of material production in our country is several times higher than the rate of increase in the population. Thus, in the fifth five-year

plan the national income increased at a rate nearly 3 times higher than the rate of growth of the population, while under the sixth five-year plan it is expected to be 3.1 times higher. On the basis of the rates achieved during the last ten years (1966-1975) we find that social production in our country doubled within 8-9 years, while the population doubled in about 25 years. And these proportions were attained under the conditions of a rapid growth in our country's population, with the highest average rates in Europe and among the highest in the world.

The high degree of development and strengthening of the country is also clearly evidenced by the large volume of investments which our economy is able to supply from internal sources. The high rates of the country's development will continue in the Sixth Five-Year Plan. In 1976-1980 our socialist state will invest more than during the first four five-year plans (1951-1970) taken together. Industrial production in this five-year plan will be greater than that achieved in the 20-year period 1955-1975, while farm production will be equal to that of 15 years (1951-1965) taken together.

Thanks to this development, our economy is now in a position to provide with its own forces nearly 85 percent of the people's needs for consumer goods. In 1976 other victories of very great political, economic and strategic importance were won: all the people's needs for breadgrains were insured domestically for the first time and the first steel with an Albanian trademark was produced. Our industry now provides nearly 85 percent of the country's needs for spare parts, not to mention the great expansion undergone by the energy base, which is in a position to set in motion a powerful and advanced material-technical base.

By applying the principle of self-reliance, our country has achieved important successes too in the field of education, science and culture. The revolutionization of the schools on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary triangle is a great achievement, which is being brought about with our own forces. Art and culture are permeated from top to bottom by the Marxist-Leninist ideology, and they rest upon and are deepening their national character more and more every day. Our sciences are furnishing more and more solutions to the problems posed to them by the construction of socialism in our country.

The defensive capability of the fatherland has become stronger and is able to resist and smash any enemy aggressor or coalition of enemies.

The direct results of the party's economic policy in the country's economic, political, cultural and social development on the basis of the principle of self-reliance have been and are stability and dynamic development of the economy, the maintenance of high and steady rates of development in all branches, sales price stability, the continual gradual but sure rise in the welfare of the people, and so forth.

But under the present conditions of exasperation of the class struggle in its internal and international aspects, of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and the economic-financial crisis in the capitalist and revisionist worlds, the increase in their pressure and blockade against our country--Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us--, it is imperative to bear in mind still more strongly, in principle and in practice, the basic orientation of self-reliance. The struggle for the intensive development of the economy during the sixth five-year plan, for the growth in accumulation and the development of expanded socialist reproduction, for the increase in the national income and for savings, and the development of all the branches and sectors of the economy and socialist culture have to do precisely with the application of this fundamental Marxist-Lenist principle.

Properly understanding the situation of imperialist-revisionist encirclement, blockade and all-around pressure on our country, heightening personnel and collective responsibility and taking measures to cope successfully with the tasks resulting from this situation--it was stated at the Seventh Party Congress--is a first and necessary condition for insuring victory, for performing the tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. Hence also the need for a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of the principle of self-reliance on the part of every worker and cadre, so as to combat every alien manifestation and concept that is incompatible with, and opposed to putting it into practice.

Self-Reliance Is Accomplished in Battle With Internal and External Enemies and With Alien Concepts and Manifestations

A thorough understanding and full application of this principle are being achieved in the fight against the hostile encirclement by imperialists and revisionists, against their pressures and blockades, against the whole undermining and sabotaging activity of internal and external enemies, and hence also against their efforts to undermine and sabotage the application of the principle of self-reliance on our way to socialist construction and the defense of the fatherland. At the same time, this principle is being put into practice in the hard fight against alien bureaucratic, liberal, technocratic and conservative concepts and manifestations, in the fight against narrow and one-sided concepts about the significance and application of this principle, against manifestations of indifference, the feeling of inferiority to things foreign, as well as against every erroneous practice that weakens the application of that principle.

The hostile views of the opportunist and renegade Tuk Jakova about the development in our country of nothing but handicraft and some light-industry enterprise for the alleged reason that only these are profitable and insure quick earnings, were leading to a denial of the application of the principle of self-reliance. Therefore our party smashed these anti-national and anti-Marxist views and unmasked them both in that period and later in the various forms and versions in which they appeared.

Our party and people waged a hard fight against the traitorous and hostile groups of Fadil Pacrami and Todi Lubonjes; Beqir Balluki, Petrit Dume and Hito Cako; Abdyl Kellezi, Koco Theodhosi and Kico Ngjele; and so forth; who, by their undermining and sabotaging activity in the fields of ideology and culture, in the army, in industry, in planning, in commerce, and so forth, sought to destroy the country's political and economic independence and to bring our party and people to their knees before the imperialist-revisionist enemies who have aimed and are aiming at the economic and political subjugation of our country.

We now know about the attempts of the Yugoslav revisionists who sought to get our party to pursue an economic policy that would have prevented Albania from creating and developing her own national industry. According to them, she was to content herself with producing agricultural and mineral raw materials that would be processed by Yugoslav industry.

Many efforts have been made by the Soviet revisionists to lead our country away from the path of revolution, among other things by trying to divert us from the course of applying the principle of self-reliance. For this purpose, they have used the most varied forms and means, beginning with tricks and blandishments and extending to pressures, acts of sabotage and open threats. They have sought to delude us into believing that the industry and agriculture of the Soviet Union could quite easily fill our people's needs and that therefore, according to them, there was no sense in little Albania's aiming to create her own industrial system; that nature had predetermined the fate of Albania to become a "flowering fruit orchard" and that there was no need to strive and struggle to provide grain within the country; and so on. They have made many efforts to "prove" that Albania lacked the raw materials needed for a modern industry; that our country, as they alleged, could not find the means needed to establish a complex industry and a modern agriculture; and so on.

Our party and government have fought courageously and heroically against these views, pressures and undermining acts of the Yugoslav and Soviet revisionists with chauvinist and capitalist views involving subjugation and enslavement, and have resolutely applied the Marxist-Leninist policy of creating a self-active economy, capable of coping with any situation.

The application of the principle of self-reliance in every link and cell of our life, on every front of socialist construction defense is also taking place in the fight against the alien concepts and manifestations in our own ranks, such as the manifestations of indifference, cheating society out of as much as possible, chasing after narrow departmental, sectional, local and personal interests; and so on. To properly understand the theoretical and practical value and importance of this principle, to analyze and apply it correctly in every sector of life and our socialist construction, on the work and combat front of very worker and cadre means working and fighting like a true revolutionary. This is a necessary condition for the correct application of the principle of self-reliance and for successful resistance to the imperialist-revisionist encirclement.

In general, there is everywhere a correct revolutionary conception and attitude toward the course of self-reliance pursued by our party. Living evidence of this are the initiatives and revolutionary mass movements that have burst forth everywhere in our country before and since the Seventh Party Congress. But there are also workers and cadres by whom certain alien manifestations and practices, such as, for example, the drafting of plans with a maintenance of reserves, demands for investments and imports beyond the possibilities, demands for premature construction, freehanded expenditures of materials of all sorts and consumption of equipment, the race to realize the norms and quantities at the expense of quality, and other things, are not regarded and treated as manifestations contrary to the conception and thorough application of that principle.

Self-reliance likewise demands that every manifestation of subjugation and inferiority with respect to the foreign shall be combated and that the feeling of national pride shall be deeply rooted. Inflated demands for foreign exchange, orders for the importation of machinery and products that can be provided domestically, borrowings and copyings by some workers or creators in the field of science, art, literature, architecture, are, among other things, expressions of inferiority and lack of confidence in our own forces.

The party has stressed and continues to stress that our country needs a science that will best fit the needs and conditions of our socialist construction and the tasks set at present or to be set in the prospective future, a science that will always take into account the possibilities and traditions of our country, the climatic and relief conditions, and all the other peculiarities. If the problem is thus understood, everyone at his own job will think more, reflect deeply and mobilize himself more to resolve the tasks confronting him and will fight better against routine, stereotype, copying and gigantomania, against kowtowing to the science and technology of other countries, without, of course, proceeding to a nihilistic negation of the results of world science and technology.

The realization of the grand tasks set by the Seventh Party Congress in all fields on the basis of the enforcement of the principle of self-reliance requires a mobilization of all the mental and physical energies of the working class, the cooperativist peasants and the popular intelligentsia, under the leadership of the party. But precisely to insure such a mobilization it is necessary to deepen more and more every day the all-around fight which the party has carried on and is carrying on against bureaucratic and liberal concepts and practices, as well as against every manifestation of them in the form of conservatism, intellectualism and technocratism everywhere, in the economy, in science, art and culture, in management and organization, since such concepts and practices, by underrating the decisive role of the masses in general, also underrate their decisive role in applying the principle of self-reliance, and become serious obstacles to the total mobilization and most active participation of the masses in the concrete solution of many great and acute problems posed by life and by our dynamic development. Within this framework, a great reserve for advancing our socialist economy, culture and science with our own forces is represented by the positive experience

which, by affirming the new and progressive and breaking down old concepts and norms, and by replacing them with the new, progressive and revolutionary, produces a growth in the faith in our own forces and, as a consequence, this principle will find an ever fuller application.

The Principle of Self-Reliance Finds Application in Every Field and Sector of Social Activity

The principle of self-reliance, having a universal character, has a very broad range of application. It finds application in all the branches and sectors of our life: in the economy, culture, science, art, international relations, the strengthening of the defensive power of the fatherland, and elsewhere. Comrade Enver Hoxha declared at the Seventh Party Congress that "the principle of self-reliance is rightly understood when applied in every field of social activity." (Enver Hoxha, Report to the Seventh Party Congress, p 87).

Viewing the question from this angle, it cannot be stated that there are no problems in this respect. In practice one notes that, while in the fields of the economy and defense the principle of self-reliance has generally been understood and has found better concretization and application, more difficulties in understanding and concretizing it are encountered in the fields of science and technology, in certain sectors of culture and art.

Of course, in the fields of the economy and defense, an understanding and an application on a broader scale are required of everyone for this principle, for in these fields there are still a good many reserves, and there are cases of narrow and one-sided interpretations, inadequate reliance on advanced experience, and so forth. It is for this reason that the party has set as an important task the undertaking of thorough analyses on the basis of the advanced experience for every production unit, for every sector, brigade and squad, for every worker and cooperativist, so that the backward will not hide behind the advanced--the backward who do not apply that principle sufficiently.

It cannot be said that the principle of self-reliance is understood and put into practice as it should be in the economic field, where, for example, some enterprises do not effect the planned payments of the socialist accumulation into the state budget, or where they come out with a loss. Without accumulation, the funds needed for expanded socialist reproduction cannot be guaranteed, and the independent development of the national economy cannot be insured. Independent economic-social development, self-reliance, and the uninterrupted growth of internal accumulation are a dialectic unity. Our party and people, it was stated at the Seventh Party Congress, will never accept loans from capitalist and revisionist states because that leads to the loss of political independence, enslavement and subjugation. This is why the increase in sources of socialist accumulation, primarily in the enterprises that have a loss, is one of the important duties upon which the attention of the party organizations and the government and economic organs must be concentrated more than hertofore.

The full and thorough realization of the principle of self-reliance itself in the economic field demands a more correct use of human resources, the raw material sources, and our powerful material-technical base; it requires a fuller enforcement of the demands made by our technical-scientific revolution. It is a matter of enforcing a strict thrift regime in all sectors and in all respects, continuously and not by campaigns, to increase exports and reduce imports, to make a correct use of manpower, to use the production capacities rationally, and so forth. But some facts from life, such as the failure to exploit metal-cutting machinery in three shifts, the under-use of steels, lumber and hides below the level reached, inadequate care in some cases for guarding other machinery like the apple of one's eye, cause a lowering of efficiency in their use, the maintenance of too low a level of internal accumulation, the expenditure of supplementary means on foreign exchange, instead of making more beneficial use of them in those branches and sectors which have the greatest need for supplementary means. Precisely the fight against these alien shortcomings and manifestations in the economy leads to the consistent application of the principle of self-reliance in performing the plan tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

The Seventh Party Congress stressed that the principal points insuring a more thorough application of that principle in the economic field are: speeding up the production of the means of production, a vigorous increase in farm production and the filling of all the breadgrain needs with domestic production; the provision by our industry of about 95 percent of the country's needs for spare parts, the narrowing of the gap between exports and imports, coverage of the accumulation fund to a greater extent than heretofore, especially in the productive capital investments, from internal sources, the insurance of over 90 percent of the people's needs for consumer goods from domestic production.

In the field of the defense of the fatherland, the party ties the application of the principle of self-reliance to the correct use of all the combat capabilities of the broad masses of the people and all the country's economic and material resources. The party has always based the defense of the fatherland not only on the standing army, but also on the whole armed people organized militarily. Accordingly, it has launched the slogan "The Fatherland is that of all the people, and hence it must be defended by all the people." The enforcement of this orientation is served by the whole great job done and being done by the party for the military organization and training of all the people, so as to be ready in an all-around manner in case of war, to develop such an economy as will serve not only to build socialism, but at the same time to minister to the needs of the defense of the fatherland, to generalize and enrich the positive experience in assimilating the Military Art of Popular Warfare. The ideopolitical preparation of people, the assimilation of the requirements of our Popular Military Art, as well as the knowledge of the tasks of every party organ and organization, state and economic organ, every cadre and worker, concerning defense even in peacetime so as to be prepared as well as possible for wartime, are the principle requirements for understanding and applying the principle of self-reliance in the field of defense.

On a broader and deeper scale, there is need to understand and apply the principle of self-reliance in the fields of education and culture, art and science; in general, in all social-cultural sectors. This for all the reasons stated above, but also because of the peculiarities of those sectors and the conditions under which they are developing. Our education, culture, art, and sciences are rather acute fields of the proletarian ideology and development of our socialist revolution. Being such, they can be moved forward only by being developed by our armed people well leavened with Marxist-Leninist ideology, with the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. This is becoming still more necessary and acute under the conditions of revisionist treason on an international scale and the attitude of the party and our people toward that treason. Moreover, our socialist development is in such a stage of development, and has certain original national peculiarities of tradition, psychology, territory, climate and so forth that dictate that we must find in ourselves the best and sole solutions of the problems raised by life and our revolutionary development in the fields of education and culture, art and science, in keeping with our conditions and our experience in revolution and our socialist development, without waiting or seeking ready solutions from anyone else. Here it is important to understand thoroughly the point that the creative spirit in education, science, culture, art and so forth on the basis of proletarian partisanship and strongly grounded on the national soil, constitutes a very important aspect of the country's independence.

The application of the principle of self-reliance in the field of education requires a wider extension of the rich experience gained in putting into effect the revolutionary triangle of learning, productive work and physical-military annealing; it requires the advancement of the great job that has been and is being done in preparing our school text and publications, an increase in the quality of training of the cadres for all the branches and for all the sectors of our activity, making still better use of all the great advantages and possibilities created by our economic-social order for also making the revolutionization of the schools and education, as directed by the party, into a cause for everyone, for the economic enterprises, the farm cooperativists, the town wards, the military units, and so forth.

Our party and people have had and still have to travel over untrodden paths. This has dictated the need for more independent work in the field of science as well, grounded more and more on the Marxist-Leninist theoretical thinking of our party and the works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, which generalize our revolutionary experience from the positions of Marxism-Leninism and constitute an unerring orientation and very rich material for the development of science, an ideological platform for interpreting our vital material on its part. The same must be said of the development of art and culture. Hence, the thorough study and assimilation of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, assume special importance. This will lead to a further strengthening of proletarian class tendentiousness and the national character in science, culture and our arts.

A very important requirement constantly posed by the party regarding the enforcement of the principle of self-reliance in the fields of science and culture as well is that, without denying the achievements of progressive world science, technology and culture, from which we have drawn and will draw constantly, the development of our science and culture must have the originality appropriate to the construction of socialism in our country, to the vigorous development of our life and socialist activity. Science is not gotten from books alone, or by a stereotyped application of the conclusions in them, the less so when those conclusions do not fit the requirements of our socialist development and not at all when they run counter to that development. The party has demanded and continues to demand that our sciences shall be developed constantly in close connection with the tasks set by our socialist construction and with the concrete conditions of the country, through a creative application of the general laws under our concrete conditions, in response to the many problems closely connected with those peculiarities. Also related to that requirement is the task set by the Seventh Party Congress concerning the priority to be given to the study of the subjects and problems which generalize our experience in socialist construction and give answers to the problems raised by the present and prospective development of our country.

The great successes achieved in all fields of our country's social activity are clear evidence of the struggle and efforts being made to understand and correctly apply the principle of strong self-reliance in practice. However, in the process of our development and general progress, owing to the difficulties of growth and the pressure of bourgeois-revisionist ideology and the remnants of the past, no adequate use has been made of all the objective and subjective possibilities that have existed, and for all the favorable conditions that have been created for putting that principle into practice more widely everywhere.

The possibilities of extending the application of this principle more widely in all fields in the present stage of our development are still greater. "In the present stage," said Comrade Enver Hoxha to the Seventh Party Congress, "great material-technical and human possibilities have been created for us to solve with our own forces many complex economic, ideo-theoretical, cultural and technical-cultural problems that confront us. Therefore, it is necessary to further strengthen the faith of the cadres, specialists and workers in our own forces and our own creative abilities, while at the same time acquainting ourselves with and applying, in accordance with our conditions, the achievements of world science and technology." (Enver Hoxha, Report to the Seventh Party Congress, p 183).

Our party and government have consistently applied the self-reliance principle in international relations and foreign policy too, never allowing this policy and their stands on international relations to be an adjunct to the foreign policy of any part or government of any other country. Guided by Marxist-Leninist principles and bearing in mind the interests of our socialist fatherland, the nations of the world, peace and general security, our party and state have made independent analyses and evaluations of the development

of the situations and events in the world, and of the problems created by those situations in general and especially for our country, and they have expressed their independent, frank and principled opinion courageously and openly, without fear or servility to anyone whatsoever. This is one of the outstanding characteristics of the international activity and attitude of our socialist party and state. Therefore, as pointed out by Comrade Enver Hoxha at the Seventh Party Congress, our country's authority and prestige have been enhanced. our views regarding foreign policy please the progressive, freedom-loving peoples, the truly Marxist-Leninist progressive revolutionary forces.

Our revolution and socialist construction are a component part of the revolution on the international scale. Within this framework, the elaboration by our party of Marxist-Leninist thought on the great problems of the revolution, the construction and defense of socialism, and the creative application and development by it of the teachings of Marxist-Leninism under our country's concrete conditions, as well as the positive achievements of Socialist Albania in various fields of political-social activity represent an important contribution by our party and our people led by it to the theory and practice of scientific socialism and to world socialist culture.

The Principle of Self-Reliance Finds Full Application When Every Collective and Individual Performs the Tasks Assigned to Him

At the Seventh Party Congress Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that "understanding of the principle of self-reliance is complete when every collective and individual performs and overfulfills the tasks assigned to him, without asking the state and society for supplementary means." (Enver Hoxha, Report to the Seventh Party Congress, p 87).

This requirement of that principle stems from the fact that everyone has his task in the great work of socialist construction, and therefore he must make his contribution and valued effort in the service of the great cause of socialism. In this respect, everyone relies on his own forces, and by coordinating our forces and helping one another all of us together rely on our own forces.

A characteristic of our socialist economy is that all economic-social life and activity are coordinated into a whole, into a single general plan for the country's development, which materializes the party's policy and directives. Hence, the matter of everyone's performance of his tasks is a component part of the fundamental tasks and objectives of the state plan in every link and cell of our economic-social life, of the whole uniform and general state plan. In this respect, the fight to insure performance of the tasks by every worker, by every laborer, cooperativist, cadre, soldier or student, wherever he works or serves, is a fight to insure performance of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, which is permeated from top to bottom by the principle of self-reliance. This struggle not only does not tolerate, but, on the contrary, excludes alien manifestations of indifference, violation of plan discipline, non-fulfillment

of the pledges given, and so forth. For example, it cannot be said that the principle of self-reliance has been thoroughly understood and well applied by those workers who do not make every effort to fulfill the work norms, or who, chasing after quantity, turn out products of poor quality, just as it cannot be said that this principle is applied by those pupils and students who do not study persistently to assimilate knowledge and science, and so on for every case of negative phenomena of this nature.

Such phenomena show that, in spite of the results obtained, the analysis and concretization of the principle of self-reliance have still not reached down fully everywhere to every link and cell and to every worker and individual in our society. Indeed, here and there some tacit notion exists that this principle finds application chiefly on the nationwide scale, at the most on the scale of an enterprise, a farm cooperative, large military unit or some weighty institution, but very little or not at all in the case of an individual or small units.

The application of the principle of self-reliance requires that one must not wait for others to do what one can do oneself and that one must give to society before demanding from it. Thanks to the great job done and being done by the party and to the growth in faith in our own forces, a good many important problems facing the various collectives and requiring a solution are now being resolved by them with their own forces. In this matter, stress has been laid especially on rooting the feeling of personal and collective responsibility more deeply. However, there are still various workers and cadres, and even some whole collectives of workers, who ask of society before they have made every effort themselves and given to society.

The conditions and possibilities for resolving with our own forces and international resources technical, technological, organizational, cultural and other tasks and problems, including even the most difficult, are great in all sectors of our economic-social life. It is important to exploit those possibilities and conditions well and with a high feeling of responsibility. Of course, this does not in any way exclude assistance and care on the part of the higher state, economic, scientific and social organs to the local agencies; on the contrary, that assistance should be as close and well qualified as possible, and every manifestation of assistance in general and without much substance by those organizations should be combated. But never must a solution be expected and demanded from above or from others for that which can and should be performed by making full use of all possibilities and internal reserves.

Likewise narrow and onesided are those concepts and practices excluding the coordination of work with other collectives and institutions which lead to the production or the performance of other things that other enterprises and institutions have done or can do better and at a lower cost. As a consequence of such concepts and practices, as well as of the lack of correct planning, it has happened in some cases that there have been duplications, decentralization of funds and of human, material and scientific forces, even in the production of products with a slow circulation. Applying the principle

of self-reliance down to every production unit and worker does not mean that they on their part, should not properly exploit all those great advantages and possibilities which have been created by our socialist society for collaboration and cooperation between the worker collectives, which constitute such important factors that they make most effective the application of that principle on a nationwide scale as well. Self-reliance in every link presupposes mutual aid, continual cooperation and collaboration between the sectors, enterprises, military units and schools, districts and branches of the economy in performing the tasks. This cooperation and collaboration of forces become all the more necessary and fruitful when it is a matter of objects, projects and operations whose execution necessarily demands a coordination of forces. Any misunderstanding or misinterpretation of this matter, allegedly in the name of self-reliance, has negative political, ideological, social and economic consequences. They nurture manifestations of localism and departmentalism, the "narrow spirit of the department and enterprise," which are contrary to the general interest of society and to the very enforcement of the principle of self-reliance on a wide scale.

The creative spirit and innovativeness of the working masses, their initiative and sense of responsibility for exploiting every resource and internal reserve are grounded on the whole business of applying the principle of self-reliance. But maximum exploitation of the advantages created and being continually created by our socialist order and the intensive educational activity of the party is also achieved by an incessant fight against the easy-going concepts and practices manifested by some cadres and specialists, who, in order not to start any trouble for themselves, refrain from supporting and promoting certain valuable proposals and initiatives of the workers, cooperativists and their colleagues, saying "we do not have them in the plan," "why should we get into this trouble when nobody asks us to?", and so forth. Similarly, a hard fight must also be waged against every manifestation and practice of intellectualism, egoism or professional envy such as is noted in some specialists and cadres, who, motivated by personal glory, refuse to ask assistance from others, strive to do everything by themselves and, in so doing, have in some cases failed to finish successfully the job they started.

Just as all the grand successes thus far achieved in the construction of socialism and the defense of the fatherland under the conditions of the all-around imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade are the fruit of the effort and persistent fight of our people led by the party headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, so too the objectives set by the Seventh Party Congress will be achieved by it through the ever more consistent application of the great, imperative and universally important principle of self reliance.

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EDUCATION FUNCTIONARY CRITICIZES STATUS OF SOCIALIST LEGAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 7, Mar 77 pp 9-11

[Article by FRG Ministry for Inner-German Relations: "Legal Consciousness at GDR Universities and Colleges Described as Still Unsatisfactory"]

[Text] "The present state of development of the legal consciousness and legal work cannot yet be described as satisfactory."* These were the critical words by which Dr Guenter Bernhardt, state secretary in the GDR Ministry for University and College Affairs, started his main presentation during a "Conference of the Ministry for University and College Affairs for the Further Development of Socialist Legal Consciousness of College Students and for the Improvement of Government Leadership at Universities and Colleges." Two hundred forty "leading functionaries" participated in this conference including deans, assistant deans, section directors, heads of directorates, legal advisers, and union representatives of the universities, colleges, and medical schools. The basic paper by State Secretary Bernhardt has just been published in the GDR magazine DAS HOCHSCHULWESEN.

At the beginning of his statement, Bernhardt was critical that there are still a number of ideological reasons that hinder "the consistent realization of law" at universities and colleges. The responsibility for this, as he sees it, lies in the fact that "in the thinking of certain executives" the realization "that enforcement of socialist legal and leadership activities are not separable activities but form an inseparable entity" has not

*"Legal consciousness (socialist): The entirety of knowledge, opinions, ideas, and feelings that express the relation of the working class and its allies under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party within the socialist order of society to the law, to its requirements, to the rights and obligations of the citizens, and to what is right and wrong under certain social conditions." ("Kleines Politisches Woerterbuch," Dietz Verlag, East Berlin, 1973).

yet become common knowledge. The reason being that "socialist law" is "an extremely rational performance instrument, because the general leadership decision, once fixed, controls a multitude of similar social conditions."

Bernhardt explained:

"There is still an attitude toward the law, which opposes expedience and effectiveness to legality. Expedience, as opposed to legality means a decision, which is made without respect for or against the legal regulations under the reasoning that this decision conforms better with the actual situation, thus being 'expedient.' A similar arbitrary assumption is that of 'effectiveness' as confronted to legality. In this case, it is obviously not understood that socialist law stems from and conforms with the requirements, the objective lawfulness."

Finally Bernhardt also criticizes the prevailing opinion that "the law has to be applied only when conflicts have arisen."

In preparing the conference it was found that in executive consultations "questions of the socialist law and new legal regulations" were still dealt with too infrequently. Bernhardt: "But information on new legal standards is the first step toward conscious enforcement of the legal standards." The mentioned ideological positions "constitute the reasons for the fact that in spite of the progress made, juridically wrong decisions and backwardness in the development of legal consciousness still exist."

Dr Bernhardt said that it was the objective of the "socialist law education to enable the students to further sharpen their socialist legal consciousness, to contribute to the strengthening of the socialist legal order, to enforce the observance of the socialist law everywhere in everyday life, and to develop conscious discipline into a firm habit." To be sure, the misconception and practice that "legal student education be restricted to disciplinary measures" has to be overcome, he said.

He said that in order to guarantee a higher degree of law certainty and to render the regulations within the universities more understandable, under the legal restoration implemented since 1972, 79 decrees and directives, 242 instructions and other rules issued since 1949 in the field of higher education have been abolished. Since then, he added, 56 decrees and directives as well as 132 instructions have been enacted.

It seems necessary for the future to proceed to teaching differentiated legal knowledge, an indispensable prerequisite in exercising various executive functions. Bernhardt thus suggests that deans and assistant deans receive a general idea on industrial law, commercial law, legal protection in the scientific-technical field including the innovator law, as well as on legal regulations pertaining to universities and colleges. Conversely, economic executives should receive extensive knowledge in the field of

industrial law as well as knowledge of the special regulations of university and financial law, and a basic knowledge in the field of innovator, commercial, and civil law including insurance law.

"Measures for the Protection of Public Property"

A "problem of serious nature" exists, in the state secretary's opinion, "in the present state of measures for the protection of public property." Bernhardt explained in detail:

"Our universities and colleges suffer considerable loss through criminal offences or damage caused by negligence. In addition, there is damage caused by erroneous payments of salaries and other things. Substantive responsibility is exerted, as a rule, only in cases of criminal offence. Although damage exists, a number of colleges did not claim damages. Substantive responsibility according to industrial law primarily serves the purpose of achieving an educational effect, and is meant to completely or, in the case of damage inflicted by negligence, partially indemnify against the damage. To enforce substantive responsibility is a legal obligation, whenever the legally required prerequisites exist."

Furthermore, it was necessary, he said, "to apply the disciplinary responsibility for damages more than political-moral disapproval of violations against the work discipline."

State Secretary Bernhardt repeatedly objected to "egalitarianism" in connection with the payments of premium awards. Also, the premium should no longer be dependent on when the previous reward was received. Equally, the available funds should no longer be distributed collectively, because:

"Egalitarianism in moral and substantive awards not only means avoiding to evaluate the performance of members of the collective continuously and critically. Such an approach also deprives us of the important possibility of emulating the best and generalizing their experience for the collective benefit. At the same time, such practices violate an essential principle of our socialist society, namely, each according to his ability, to each according to his performance!"

In relation to the enterprises of the national economy, he said, the universities and colleges are equal partners. However, one cannot allow "contract violations by our partners go unavenged by our universities. A number of universities and colleges use the remedy of substantive responsibility in the form of penalties or damages under the commercial law only to a very limited extent or not at all. The crucial ideological reason for this attitude is that the exertion of substantive sanctions against contract partners is expected to prejudice future relations. We thus waive, however, an essential educational means for the improvement of plan and contract discipline."

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EAST GERMANY

SOCIALIST FAMILY-SOCIETY INTERACTION DISCUSSED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5/6 Mar 77 p 10

[Article by Prof Rolf Borrmann and Dr Erna Scharnhorst: "The Family's Contribution to the Socialist Way of Life." For related information see JPRS 68886, 6 April 1977, No 1375 of this series, pp 85-93]

[Text] To have children, to see them grow up and to educate them to become consciously acting adults with many-sided interests--most parents regard this as an essential enrichment and important content of their life and at the same time, as personal happiness and social task. In the program adopted by the Ninth SED Congress, this fact is characterized as follows: "Children are an integral part of the meaning and happiness of a marriage. The parents have the important social obligation to bring them up to healthy and vital adults, to socialist personalities."¹)

Naturally, the responsibility for educating the children to become versatile socialist personalities is shared by all educative agencies: the school, the family, the youth and children's organizations, the workers in the enterprises and many others. However, this ensemble of educative agents does not by any means reduce the importance of family education for the individual or for society. In the family, the child experiences the most intense social and emotional attachments; as a rule, the child lives in the family from the time of its birth until it attains independence.

Full Agreement with Social Interests

The developed socialist society offers all the important prerequisites necessary to enable the parents to fulfill their educational duties. It guarantees social security and shelter to all families and increasingly satisfies their material and cultural needs. The sociopolitical measures adopted by the Eighth and Ninth SED Congresses have had an especially positive effect on the family. Thus from 1970 to 1975, the real per capita income increased by 31 percent; consequently--with retail prices, rents and service rates remaining stable--the average family income also showed a considerable increase. All families enjoy a higher standard of living. For many families, there is more free time for a fuller satisfaction of intellectual and cultural needs.

Along with the development of socialism, there has also developed a qualitatively new interaction between family and society. Today, it is only in an ironic sense that the petty bourgeois motto "cozy home--happiness alone" is used. The family is no longer a safe retreat, in which one isolates oneself from society. The basic conformity of the interests of the individual and of society in socialism fully extends also to the family. Through their daily work, men and women, fathers and mothers consciously contribute to the social development. In this process, they improve themselves and enrich and give more content to their lives. The new social position of women and the support given to working mothers release significant creative forces which are for the benefit of the family as well as of society.

Enjoying fundamental, actualized rights--such as the right to work, the right to education and professional training, the right to social assistance in old age and in case of illness--, being free from existential insecurity and from troubles arising from crisis situations, sheltered in the humane conditions of real socialism, the GDR citizens have developed not only a conscious and active relationship to work, but also to the state and to the accomplishment of sociopolitical tasks. Family surveys have shown that more than two-thirds of the fathers and approximately 50 percent of the mothers perform sociopolitical functions.²⁾ In this type of activity, they not only acquire knowledge and develop skills, but they also form outlooks and attitudes which affect the intellectual-cultural level of the family, its atmosphere and cohesion.

Parental Generation's Good All-round Education

In comparison with all previous generations, today's parents show a remarkable improvement in regard to their qualifications and their educational and cultural level. By now, there are many parents who have attended socialist schools, who have acquired a sound general education based on the scientific worldview of Marxism-Leninism and who have received solid vocational training. Continued education has become a natural constituent of socialist work and life. In the GDR industry alone, approximately 650,000 workers qualify each year for work as skilled laborers or foremen or for technical or university studies. New, varied interests develop. This is illustrated by the following data: on average, every household subscribes to three newspapers or magazines. From 1965 to 1975, the number of people visiting museums and exhibitions doubled, while the number of books borrowed from state and trade union libraries increased by approximately 50 percent during the same period.³⁾ Large editions of books and records are often sold out within a few days.

All these factors--the material living conditions, women's equality on the job, the higher educational and cultural level of the partners--

has changed the family relations in terms of content and quality. On the basis of the partners' marital relations, which on their part are based on mutual love, respect, support and joint responsibility for the family, the personality development of all its members has become the primary function of the socialist family. Aside from the work collective, the family is the most important realm for the development of the socialist way of life. According to Karl Marx, the nature of the marital partners' relations is indicative of the general cultural level of mankind.⁴⁾

The child is born into the family and during the first developmental stages, it becomes part of the family life in an unconscious manner. Viewed in this way, the familial circumstances in their entirety affect the child's development from the very first day of its life. This fact should be especially emphasized, since the child is extremely impressionable during the first years of its life. Feelings, emotions and perceptions are already operative, while reason and consciousness undergo only gradual development. Thus the relations within the family, the parents' marital relations and the parents' relationship to the child are crucially important. The love and care, the tenderness and friendly affection shown by the adults are basic existential needs of the small child; however, they are also important for children in later stages of life.

The new interactions based on mutual understanding, comradely support and assistance, care and encouragement and supportive criticism, which are taking shape in socialist society as a whole and also in the family, produce many beneficial results in the development and education of the children. The family relations and modes of behavior are at first readily imitated by the small children; later on, they are consciously internalized by the adolescents. Thus, educators speak of the "catalytic function" of family relations, since they cannot only reinforce the desired effect of education, but also weaken and even prevent it. To a large extent, this will depend on the individual family.

Model of Zest for Work, Diligence and Professional Pride

For this reason, those parents are well advised who again and again ask themselves the following questions: How is the family atmosphere? How are the relations between the marital partners and between parents and children? Are they characterized by sincerity, mutual respect and tolerance and are they in accordance with the standards attained in our society? How far advanced are the families' style of living, organization of life and division of labor? The entire living conditions of the family are at the same time educational conditions. On the basis of comprehensive surveys, sociologists continue to refer to the "imprinting" effect of the family's way of life.

It is no accident that disciplined, diligent, socially conscious and active students come from families, in which father and mother are in agreement with the goals and tasks of our society and at the same time organize their family life in accordance with socialist principles. The education of the children grows from everyday family life. It takes place under the conditions of daily collaboration and solidarity. Within the family, education and way of life permeate and mutually affect each other.

The children learn from the example set by their parents that work is not only a necessity, but that it is a need and that despite all difficulties and problems it gives satisfaction and joy. The parents are the children's model of worker's honor, professional pride, diligence and self-respect. They pass on to the children work and life experience accumulated in the course of decades. The struggle for high quality and accomplishment, for technical innovations and plan fulfillment, the careful handling of public and private property--at first the sons and daughters notice all this in the family in an almost sensuous manner; later on, they become aware of it intellectually.

At the Ninth SED Congress, Erich Honecker stated: "If the parents bring up their children to respect their fellow men, life, work, the fulfillment of duties, the love of truth, modesty, mutual respect and civic responsibility, they substantially contribute to the awakening and encouragement of the attributes of young communists."

In the family, the child experiences the value and necessity of work also in a direct way in the accomplishment of its own tasks. A prudent division of labor in the family strengthens the children's self-confidence and their sense of responsibility. The child realizes: nobody can or may live at the expense of anybody else, not even in the family. The collaboration and solidarity present in our society, the collectivity as an essential characteristic of the people's social life in socialism are at first seen by the child in the family. Guided by the parents, the child practices such attitudes. This also makes itself felt in the schools, in the children's collectives and in public life.

The family likewise transmits value conceptions concerning the equality of women, social justice, faith in the future and in all-round development of the personality. The more closely the family collaborates with the other social educative agencies--above all with the school and the youth and children's organization--the better can it solve educational tasks oriented toward striving for these values. All these agencies have the same basic educational goal. However, their respective educational possibilities are specific. The family and the school should

therefore try fully to exhaust their possibilities. In this respect, many reserves are still untapped.

Fruitful Collaboration of School and Home

It is the task of society to make all parents and pedagogues aware of these reserves and to help them to make use of them in their own daily educative work as well as in trustful collaboration. No more can the school accomplish these tasks of the family than the family can solve the problems of the school. Experienced teachers and knowledgeable parents are fully aware of this and take it into consideration in their work. They proceed from the assumption that the best support for the school is a good family education of the children and vice versa.

Along with further social progress, the living conditions of all families will improve, making for a harmonious and stable development. The parents' sense of responsibility and their ability to educate their children will grow. These are objective preconditions and at the same time, it guarantees that the family can make its appropriate contribution to the shaping of fully developed socialist personalities.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" /Program of the Socialist Unity Party Germany/, Berlin, Dietz, 1976, p 55.
2. Cf. Rosemarie Walther: "Women in Family Education," in "Informationen des Wissenschaftlichen Beirates Die Frau in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft" /Information by the Scientific Advisory Board Women in the Socialist Society/, No 9, 1975, p 20.
3. Cf. "Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR 1976" /Statistical Yearbook of the GDR for 1976/, pp 352 and 362.
4. Karl Marx, "Kleine oekonomische Schriften" /Short Economic Papers/, Berlin, 1955, p 126.
5. "Report by the SED Central Committee to the Ninth SED Congress. Speaker: Erich Honecker." Berlin, 1976, p 100.

8760
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EAST GERMANY

FRG PAPER ON DISSATISFACTION OVER TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS, SHORTAGES

Travel Outside Socialist Countries

Bonn DIE WELT in German 16 Mar 77 p 1

/Article by Werner Kahl: "Workers in 'GDR' Enterprises Complain About the Wall's Restrictiveness"/

/Text/ In plant meetings of "GDR" industry it has come, to some extent, to excited discussions regarding the travel possibilities of the "working people." According to reports now arriving in West Berlin, workers have demanded the abolition of travel restrictions and the lifting of the clause banning trips to the Federal Republic of Germany and "capitalist foreign countries" by the elderly.

In some reports from SED plant directorates to superior party secretariats, the "rage over the Wall" argument emerged for the first time, in which plant members took issue with the prohibition, which has already existed nearly 16 years, on travels in the West. Officials of the SED kreis and bezirk directorates answered the reports regarding the workers with the argument that trips for citizens below retirement age could not be approved as long as the Bonn government did not recognize "GDR" citizenship. Following the wave of travel applications in 1976, argumentation aids to counter the apparently now rising swell of travel desires were distributed recently to the corps of officials at a central SED conference in East Berlin.

To quote from the interview given by SED chief Erich Honecker to the SAARBRUECKER ZEITUNG and in which he termed the regime's demand for its own citizenship, as it were, the conditio sine qua non for the possibility of expanded travel in Western countries was the advice given to the comrade instructors on their return to the provinces.

The Leuna-Works in Merseburg and Buna-Works in Halle, with a total of more than 100,000 workers, the Bitterfeld electrical combine, Eisenhuettenstadt on the Oder and the Rostock shipyards, above all, were centers of discussions about the GDR's delimitation policy.

SED agitators reported that even in the advanced schools discussions, at times, had already taken on "counterrevolutionary manifestations." It had become more difficult to differentiate between friend and foe of the republic because numerous spokesmen emphasized that they had no intention of turning their backs on the "GDR" forever. They expected, however, after recognition of the state, freedom of movement for vacations and holiday, which should not be limited to the countries of the "socialist community of states."

Shortages Continue Despite Improvements

Bonn DIE WELT in German 17 Mar 77 p 3

/Article by Axel Schuetzsack: "What Bothers the Citizens of Halle"

/Text/ The drive into Halle Bezirk is a journey into the industrial heartland of the "GDR." Leuna--VEB Walter Ulbricht--the Buna-Works, Carbides and Plastics, the Pump and Compressor Works in Halle, the railroad car factory in Ammendorf, are all names which appear daily in the newspapers of the SED press and which, at the same time, signal the ambitious claim of the "GDR" leadership of closing the existing technological gaps. The Schkopau chemical works presently under construction, which is being erected by Farbwerke Hoechst, is an important component of this long-term industrialization of the "GDR." The construction area is closed off. Establishing contact with the West Germans working there is impossible.

On the other hand, it is simpler and much less of a problem to strike up a conversation with the population. On the drive from Leipzig over bumpy cobbled pavement, first to Delitzsch and then through the brown coal district west of Halle, information was given willingly. People here who are deeply involved in the production process come quickly of their own accord to speak of their daily concerns.

The foreman of a "socialist brigade" in the Saxon brown coal district described the situation in his field of work in plain language. Problems begin with scarcity of material and end with scanty pleasure in the work in the plants. "We rest on the shift. Work only begins when we are at home." Thus the literal quotation of a worker in the brown coal district who, like many of his colleagues, owns a garden or a little piece of land.

The "socialist brigades" had the goal, above all, of raising working morale, which had strongly declined in recent years. Thus, for example, a group undertook to keep the working areas tidy.

If the foreman of the "socialist brigade" in charge of repair requires something, he is prepared for the fact that he will receive a negative answer or be put off until later. But if, then, the necessary sheet metal, the long-awaited deliveries of cement have arrived, the warehouse is cleared out in no time. A great deal disappears surreptitiously for house repairs, installations and similar things.

Cement, which is only needed in the following summer, is purchased in the winter, if there is any, and one runs the risk that, because of moisture, it is only partially usable.

"Everywhere in my circle of acquaintances, where I also listen in, complaining goes on, not even excluding SED members if they do not occupy higher posts and belong among the privileged," relates our conversation partner.

The standard of living has, of course, been raised in recent years. The population is better dressed than some years ago. Food supplies have become more abundant and basic foodstuffs as well as rents have remained stable. Moreover, growing traffic in the cities and on the roads of the "GDR" is a sign that many people, even with a relatively modest income, have meanwhile bought a small car.

The SED leadership, nevertheless, seems to be deeply uncertain. Criticism of the bureaucratic apparatus and daily manifestations of scarcity, above all, has become louder. In private conversations with citizens of the "GDR," away from the Leipzig Trade Fair, a scarcely flattering judgment was expressed several times which, perhaps, can contribute something to the formula: as long as the central planning bureaucracy paralyzes every individual initiative, this state will not have a rosy future.

8224

CSO: 2300

POLAND

WARSAW DAILY COMMENTS ON CARTER'S ENERGY PROPOSALS

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 27 Apr 77 p 5 AU

[Zygmunt Szymanski article: "A Race With Obstacles"]

[Text] Jimmy Carter, in keeping with his pre-election promise, last week, that is, exactly 3 months since his inauguration, presented an extensive energy program to his countrymen, the implementation of which he considers absolutely necessary if the United States is to avoid a "national catastrophe" in the near future.

Perhaps the President has been a little too pessimistic, but he certainly has not been far from the truth.

The Americans are gargantuan devourers of energy, and although they account for merely 5 percent of the world's population, they consume some 30 percent of its energy, and they do this in an extremely wasteful way, especially in the case of liquid energy, which has been the main energy source in the United States for many decades. They have become accustomed to regarding oil and natural gas as "free goods" given them by providence, and at low prices at that.

But neither the one nor the other is true.

Oil production in the United States is dropping, and oil imports are increasing. In 1970 these imports cost the United States \$3.7 billion, but last year they cost \$36 billion. Within the same period of time the United States' dependence on imports increased from just over 20 percent of domestic production to almost 45 percent. In addition, it is becoming increasingly obvious that the world energy resources are limited, and that they may be exhausted in 30, 50 or 60 years. But the entire world will begin to feel shortages of energy much sooner, perhaps in 10 years.

The Americans will feel this with particular force precisely because they are so wasteful. U.S. ecologists have said that the United States wastes as much energy as all Japan consumes. The economists have pointed out

that other highly developed Western countries, such as Sweden or the FRG, enjoy the same or perhaps higher prosperity as the Americans with a per capita energy consumption half as large.

In this situation President Carter has drawn the conclusion that of all the horses we could back to win the energy race the best horse is... thrift, particularly thrift in using oil and gas. This idea is the main premise of the Carter program.

The program's basic goals are: 1) to reduce the annual increase in energy consumption from the present 4.6 percent to below 2 percent; 2) to reduce gasoline consumption by 10 percent; 3) to reduce oil imports by one-fourth; 4) to create a strategic oil reserve of 1 billion barrels; 5) to increase coal production by two-thirds to 1 billion tons a year by 1985; 6) to introduce severe standards in insulating new buildings and to insulate 90 percent of existing houses; and 7) to supply 2.5 million households with solar energy installations.

These strategic aims are to be achieved through a whole series of measures, such as a tax on large automobiles, raising gasoline prices (5 cents a gallon in 1979 to begin with), loans to pay for house insulation, raising prices for oil extracted from so-called old wells in the United States, the duty to exchange all electric appliances--irons, driers, refrigerators, air conditioning--if they are not efficient, and so on.

President Carter's program was wrapped in an exceptionally thin veil of secrecy up to the day of its publication, unlike many other political or economic acts of great importance. Everyone knew for a long time what the program involved and accepted its long-term aims, at least in theory. However, as soon as its details became known the situation changed, because it became obvious that the program involved a veritable economic, behavioral and political revolution, for which the Americans are absolutely not prepared.

The weakest part of the program is its economic part. As we now know, the 15-strong groups of experts who slogged away for 90 days round the clock to formulate it had asked the President for a month's respite to thoroughly explore the program's economic implications. The President refused to grant this request, however.

U.S. economists regard it as almost a certainty that raising energy consumption by 1 percent increases national income 1 percent. If so, then how can one expect that the planned decrease in energy consumption will not decrease national income and will not affect general prosperity and employment? Increased energy prices will also produce unfavorable results. President Carter takes the view that the implementation of all his price changes will raise the retail price index by half a percent at the most. (The retail price index is used to measure inflation.) But even his closest

associates, such as Treasury Secretary Blumenthal and Schultze, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, are much less optimistic. It is not clear how the U.S. economy, despite its size and strength, will be able to cope with the enormous expenditures involved in switching over to coal to produce energy and in extracting and distributing coal (taking into account the withering of the U.S. railroads). Nor is it clear how the auto industry will absorb the effects of the tax on large automobiles. Auto industry people already fear that the industry may stagnate and more workers will have to be dismissed.

What is worse, the increase in the price for gasoline, which is negligible to begin with, and which will be introduced in 1979, may not necessarily lower gasoline consumption as envisaged by the program. Even a \$1 increase in the price per gallon of gasoline will add, on the average, \$40 at most to a driver's monthly bill. Will not most of them adjust to this increase (especially since it is to be slow and gradual)? Will not most of them fail to restrict their gasoline consumption at all? And all the more so since in many areas of the country in which public transportation is not available private cars are the only means of transportation.

Of course, the enlightened U.S. citizens agree with their President that it is necessary in one way or another to take an analytical look at the country's energy future and to prepare right now for the tough challenge of the future. But the average American reacts in a different way.

When a BUSINESS WEEK reporter asked James Schlesinger, presidential adviser for energy, why it had been necessary to take such a long time to introduce economies as a remedy against the energy crisis he was told: "Nothing induces man to give concentrated thought to a single subject so much as the awareness that he will hang in a moment."

But the average American is not at all aware that he is going to be hanged: Each gasoline station will sell you as much gasoline as you want; if you want light, you turn it on; if you want fresh air, you turn on air conditioning; if you want heat, just turn it on. Why should we worry, says the average American. What will happen in 10 years time? And perhaps the President is deceiving us. Or has he been deceived by oil sharks and Arab shieks?

It is not easy to combat such attitudes and to convince all the people that sacrifices--and, unfortunately, sacrifices have been asked for--are now necessary if the country is to survive at all.

Nor will it be easy for the President to convince Congress that it should accept his program rapidly and without major changes. In 18 months the entire House of Representatives and two-thirds of the Senate will be re-elected, and this prospect makes these legislative bodies averse to asking their fellow countrymen to make sacrifices just at a time when they have to fight for every vote. There is no doubt that Congress will not fail to

temporize and dodge about, all the more so since it will be able to assert with every justification that the program submitted to it calls for amendments and additions.

As one can see, President Carter is facing a big battle. He believes in the correctness of his program so much so that, as he has said, he is ready to swallow a 15-percent drop in his popularity in order to implement it. It is not known, however, if this price will be high enough.

Thrift in energy consumption is a must for America and not only America, and this is why the strategic aims of Carter's program do not give rise to any doubts. However, the methods with which these aims are to be achieved are very controversial. They call for changes in "life style," involve serious upset in the economy and are encountering the opposition and pressures of various groups, of which there are so many in America.

CSO: 2600

POLAND

POLISH-AUSTRIAN COMMUNIQUE ON PAHR'S VISIT ISSUED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Apr 77 p 2 AU

[Report on joint communique issued in Warsaw on the official visit to Poland by Austrian Foreign Minister Dr Willibald Pahr from 23 to 26 April]

[Text] The communique issued at the end of the official visit paid to Poland by Dr Willibald Pahr, minister of foreign affairs of the republic of Austria, states among other things that during the official talks, which took place in a friendly and constructive atmosphere, the foreign ministers of the two countries, Emil Wojtaszek and Willibald Pahr, had an extensive exchange of views on the development of Polish-Austrian relations and on international problems. They agreed with satisfaction that their views on many problems under discussion were identical or similar.

They paid special attention to the further strengthening of peace and security, the deepening of detente and the development of mutually beneficial cooperation in Europe. They confirmed the resolve of the two countries to fully and comprehensively implement the CSCE final act. The important point is that detente goes hand in hand with and is strengthened by corresponding measures in the military area.

They expressed their conviction that the positive results of the Vienna talks on mutual reductions in armed forces and armaments and on corresponding measures in central Europe are indispensable for strengthening peace and security on our continent.

Pointing to the urgent need to intensify measures in favor of disarmament, including nuclear disarmament, and in favor of nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, the ministers agreed that the special session of the UN General Assembly in 1978 and the World Disarmament Conference should consider this issue.

The ministers also stressed the great importance that Poland and Austria attach to the coming Belgrade conference. They expressed their conviction that this meeting and its results will be an important event in the efforts to deepen the mutual relations between all the signatory states, to strengthen security and to develop cooperation in Europe and the process of detente.

The two sides stressed the role of the United Nations as an important instrument of world peace and security and of the development of international cooperation.

The two foreign ministers expressed their satisfaction with the dynamic and comprehensive development of Polish-Austrian relations in recent years.

They stressed the great importance that the governments of Poland and Austria attach to the further deepening and expanding of mutual relations in the spirit of trust and mutual benefit. They expressed their wish for the further development of political and economic cooperation, including particularly industrial cooperation, for the further intensification of cultural-scientific cooperation and the development of scientific-technical cooperation.

As the communique states, the talks constitute another common contribution to the development of Polish-Austrian relations.

Minister Dr W. Pahr invited Minister E. Wojtaszek to pay an official visit to Austria. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

The date of the visit will be fixed through diplomatic channels.

CSO: 2600

ROMANIA

ROMANIAN-U.S. CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Bucharest REVISTA ROMANA DE STUDII INTERNATIONALE in Romanian No 1, Jan-Feb-Mar 77 pp 107-109

[Article by Mircea Mitran: "Romanian-American Colloquium on Problems of International Relations (Bucharest, 29 September-2 October 1976)"]

[Text] From 29 September to 2 October 1976, a delegation from the U.S. Council for Foreign Relations (New York) met with a group of members of the Romanian ADIRI [Association for International Law and International Relations] to discuss current problems of common interest in intergovernmental relations and several issues whose resolution is of interest to all mankind. Both delegations had a structure broad enough to include rather representative experiences and viewpoints: Persons with responsibilities in the political-diplomatic structures of the two countries, along with specialists in international relations, economics, international law, or business (industry and finance) of the two countries, journalists representing personal viewpoints and experiences or reflecting official governmental positions attempted to offer--or to seek in discussion--possible answers to what currently concerns Romanians and Americans in equal measure in the field of international relations.¹

The organization of this discussion represented the fruit of contacts and cooperation between the Council for Foreign Relations, in which Chairmen Bayless Manning and John O. Campbell, a diligent researcher into Romanian problems and an old friend of Romania, were the motive forces, and the ADIRI, whose scientific director assumed the duties of host and according to the testimony of both delegations, carried them out discreetly and efficiently.

The discussions were arranged in the usual form of a "round table conference." Both delegations presented a number of written papers² which were read by the participants before discussions were begun. The authors were given 10 to 15 minutes to introduce ideas for discussion. Speeches were free, with no obligation to refer to the ideas presented in the papers, restricted only--and this in relative measure--to the agenda approved by both delegations.

The agenda and the meeting's program adopted by the two delegations comprised the following points:

1. Implementation of the provisions of the Final Document of the CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe] and the current situation in Europe.
2. The world economy and its evolution in the future.
3. Romanian and United States positions on major world problems.

Six discussion sessions, conducted alternately by Romanians and Americans, plus a restricted discussion group for economists, were followed by a reception for the American delegation by Comrade Stefan Andrei, deputy member of the Executive Political Committee and Secretary of the CC RCP, who responded to some questions deriving from the impressions which the American delegates carried away with them from discussions with their Romanian colleagues.

In many respects, the discussion proceeded in an atmosphere of natural uncertainty deriving from the United States presidential elections--since at that time it was difficult for anyone to predict the result or to forecast the implications which the transfer of power on 20 January 1977 in Washington would have in the field of U.S. foreign policy.

This circumstance, however, did not adversely affect the exchange of views between delegations; on the contrary, the question marks imposed by this kind of "uncertainty" opened up a broader scope for imagination on the eventual possibilities for constructive initiatives in American foreign policy after 20 January 1977. The very definition of that which the American participants considered at that time to be permanent or elements of continuity was to some extent beneficial. Certainly, a large part of the time allocated to discussions was taken up by explanation of the positions and assessments which the two delegations presented at the round table. This was and remains an important contribution toward better acquaintance and mutual understanding, toward delineation of the options and possibilities for co-operation in situations in which coincidence of interests and similarity of position obtain.

As was to be expected, however, given the difference in the social-political, economic, and philosophical structure between the two countries, and the diversity among the participating personalities, in a great many important problems the two delegations defended differing or opposed positions right up to the end of debate. The most marked among these, undoubtedly, was the American colleagues' insistence on a concept and vision of the contemporary world through the prism of the East-West dichotomy and military blocs in confrontation with the Romanian vision, also shared by other socialist countries, envisioning the abandonment of blocs--primarily the simultaneous dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty--and the creation of new relations in Europe and the world based on the elimination of force, on the principles

inscribed in the United Nations Charter and the Final Document of the CSCE. Even here, nevertheless, points of possible cooperation in positive actions were found. Many American participants asserted that the United States and its allies have a great desire, while maintaining the blocs, to act toward a relaxation of tension, reducing the level of armed forces and taking effective measures to strengthen trust among nations.

Although characterized in general by conservatism, the American participation in the discussions nevertheless emphasized a growing, if abstract, concern over the current impasse in numerous major international problems and the necessity of some new approaches in order to get out of this disquieting impasse. They spoke of introducing a more diversified and flexible international system, based on laws rather than force, of strengthening multilateral authorities and instruments, regional agreements, and so on. This conservatism of opinion appears to derive from a certain historical skepticism, from a lack of realistic perspective in making the transition from the impasse created by the politics of blocs to new forms in inter-governmental relations. This perhaps explains the American colleagues' inclination to consider some of the Romanian concepts and positions as unrealistic. In exactly the same way, many Romanian speakers insisted on the practical and concrete nature of the Romanian positions and initiatives.

The Romanian delegates, while insisting on the importance of some new approaches in international relations--in particular the necessity of disarmament and of firm commitments on the part of states and organizations aimed at creating a new economic and political order--gained from the discussions with their American colleagues the necessity of more specific, more concrete and detailed, elaborations of Romanian theses and initiatives on an international scale.

The American participants, in papers prepared beforehand and especially in the debates, tended to see in the desires for the creation of a new international economic order an expression of some political tendencies aiming at considerations of prestige, the need to divert attention away from difficulties created by internal domestic policies, on the part of some leaders. As the discussions went into more depth, however, after extensive presentation of the Romanian ideas and positions, a more constructive dialogue ensued, one which prefigured points of understanding and even eventual cooperation. Thus came about a suggestion initiated by Romania, on the basis of its special experience, for some international studies and discussions dealing with definition of the transfer of technology and specific ways to effectively implement such transfer within the framework of the restructuring of international economic relations. In the discussions on implementation of the Final Document of the CSCE and the current situation in Europe, the Romanian delegation emphasized the necessity of a permanent contribution by all the states participating in the conference in the application of all the provisions of the Final Document, opposing the insistence of some political circles and the press in the United States and other countries on reducing the significance of the Final Document with respect to the number of "East-West" marriages approved or statistics of emigration, on moving some citizens--

generally highly-educated ones--to certain Western countries. This tendency was exemplified in the creation, by the United States Congress, of a commission assigned to "verify" compliance with the provisions of the Final Document in this narrow and unconstructive vision, emphasizing that in the field of human contacts and the development of cultural exchanges it is necessary to have a deeper and broader understanding of facilitating the exchange of cultural and artistic values which can truly contribute to mutual understanding, to the strengthening of trust among states and peoples. But the American participants did not discuss these problems except in passing. The importance of military detente and the elimination of barriers and discrimination in economic and commercial exchanges was stressed. While echoing the pessimism prevailing in United States political circles--in particular in electoral debates having to do with detente--the American representatives nevertheless had positive views on the CSCE and the Final Document. Many of them emphasized that the Belgrad Meeting requires making an analysis of the situation in Europe following the CSCE, including the discussion of measures of trust between states specially linked in military aspects.

Naturally, it is impossible to present a discussion as broad as this one in this restricted space; the selected samples above are very much summarized and merely constitute a simple chronical reportage of an important event--one which must be repeated.

FOOTNOTES

1. Delegation of the New York Council for Foreign Relations: Bayless Manning, chairman of the Council for Foreign Relations (head of the American delegation); David Binder, NEW YORK TIMES correspondent; John O. Campbell, professor and researcher in the Council for Foreign Relations; Miriam Camps, professor and researcher in the Council for Foreign Relations; William Diebold Jr, professor and researcher in the Council for Foreign Relations; Felice D. Gaer, representative of the Ford Foundation; James Goldsborough, European correspondent of the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE; William E. Griffith, professor of political science at MIT; Amos A. Jordan, deputy under-secretary of state for security problems; Edward L. Morse, professor and researcher in the Council for Foreign Relations; J. Michael Montias, economic professor at Yale; John R. Price, vice-president of the Manufacturers Hanover Corporation; Nathaniel Samuels, president of Louis Dreyfus Corporation Ltd and partner, Kuhn, Loeb, & Co.; Ralph A. Weller, president of the Otis Elevator Company; Richard H. Ullman, professor of international relations at Princeton and director of the [1980's program] for the Council for Foreign Relations.

The delegation of the ADIRI: Mihnea Gheorghiu, president of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences; Vasile Gliga, deputy minister of foreign affairs; Vasile Rauta, vice-chairman of the State Committee for Planning; Constantin C. Giurescu, academician and member of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Gheorghe Dolgu, rector of the Academy of

Economic Studies; Dezideriu Szilagyi, editor in chief of ELORE; Valentin Lipatti, ambassador and chief of the section for security and cooperation in Europe; Corneliu Bogdan, ambassador; Ion Goliat, deputy secretary general of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences; Nicolae Puicea, deputy director general of AGERPRES; Matei Nicolau, secretary of the National Council for Environmental Protection; Constantin Moisuc, professor in the Academy St Gheorghiu; Silviu Brucan, university professor; Ovidiu Trasnea, university professor; Edwin Glaser, consulting professor at the University of Bucharest; Petre Sin and Constantin Stanca, directors in the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation; Ion Porojan, second secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Mircea Mitran, Ovidiu Ionescu, Ion Diaconu, and Dumitru Mazilu, councilors in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Costin Kiritescu, councilor in the Ministry of Finance; Victor Duculescu, councilor in the Academy of Social and Political Sciences; Alexandru Coroianu and Ion Voicu, first secretaries in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Constantin Nita, second secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; George Serafin, deputy editor in chief of LUMEA; Aurel Ghibutiu, section chief in the Institute of World Economics; and Nicolae Fotino, scientific director of ADIRI.

2. Papers given by the American delegation:

John C. Campbell: "The United States, Romania, and European Security: The Mideast-Eastern Mediterranean-Balkans."
 Miriam Camps: "Development in Western Europe and the United States--European Realitions."
 William Diebold: "The American Foreign Economist Policy."
 J.M. Montias: "Romanian Foreign Trade Between East and West."
 Edward L. Morse: "The New International Economic Order: Political Debates in the United States."

Papers given by the Romanian delegation:

Silviu Brucan: "Political Development in Europe in the 1980's."
 Alex. Coroianu: "Reduction of Troops and Armaments in Central Europe."
 Ion Diaconu: "The Establishment of Security and the Development of Cooperation in Europe."
 Gh. Dolgu: "Objectives and Ways to Institute a New International Economic Order."
 Edwin Glaser: "The Role of Small and Medium Countries in International Relations Today and Tomorrow."
 Ovidiu Ionescu: "Disarmament--A Major Problem in International Life and a Component of the New International Economic and Political Order."
 Dumitru Mazilu: "An Important Component of the New International Economic and Political Order: Renunciation of the Threat or Use of Force."
 Matei Nicolau: "New Ways of International Technical and Scientific Cooperation in Connection with Environmental Protection."

V. Rauta: "Directions of Romania's Economic and Social Development in the 1990's."

C. Kiritescu: "The Romanian Viewpoint Regarding the Future International Monetary System."

Ion Voicu: "The United Nations and the New World Order."

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CSO: 2700

JEWISH ORGAN REVIEWS BOOK ON ANTI-SEMITIC POLITICIAN

Bucharest REVISTA CULTULUI MOZAIC in Romanian 15 Mar 77 p 5

[Article by V. Solomon: "The Physiognomy of Imposture"]

[Text] Recently on display in the shop windows of book stores is the first volume of Academician Iorgu Iordan's "Memoriile" [Memoirs], released by Editura Eminescu (1976, 312 pp). A figure of first rank in our scientific and cultural life, author of several fundamental contributions to the field of Romanian language and general linguistics, this distinguished man of science is well known and appreciated abroad as well. Along with his prodigious research activity, he has also proved himself in civic affairs as a militant antifascist, diplomat, and official of several prestigious institutions of learning, science, and culture. Quite natural, therefore, is the interest evoked by the appearance of his "Memoirs," which unfolds as a vast fresco, painted with a searching, critical eye, of an entire epoch. Volume I depicts the childhood and school years of the author, including his student years, and then the beginning of his teaching career until the end of World War I. The traits reveal a scholar, preoccupied with the exactitude of details, with an unbiased accounting of events of which he was a witness or a participant.

Illustrative in this sense is the depiction, at once odious and grotesque, of the anti-Semitic politician A.C. Cuza.

A concise definition, in the temperate and concentrated style (though not without a discreet lyric chillness) in which the book is generally written: a "sinister impostor," ... "a political impostor combined with a scientific impostor" (pp 201-202), and fixed before us in plain terms is the identity of this hateful personage. Allegedly a teacher in the Law Faculty, he rose up the ladder of the department in order to defile it with perorations aimed at "the grave corruption of the minds of a good part of the students of this faculty".... "In courses he did everything except political economy (his specialty): he would bring in his papers ('On Population,' 'The Romanian Artisan,' 'Jews in the Press,' and so on) and present so to speak ideas or cases from them, with irony, allusions, and outright attacks against his adversaries who, in reality, included nearly everyone (political men of

democratic views, faculty colleagues, and, of course, Jews, lumped all together, without distinction as to social category or profession). His exposition was accompanied by gestures, mimicry, tone modulation after the fashion of actors--more accurately, perfectly resembling that of circus clowns--which nevertheless functioned as indicated above. He also ostensibly held seminars just for the purpose of conducting anti-Semitic agitation, and this form of didactic work, elaborated on the basis of a well-organized plan, superbly served his aims. He even held afternoon courses and seminars, between 1600 and 1800 hours, so as to 'work' more effectively: he could count on a larger attendance, not only by students but also by an outside public that delighted in cheap spectacles" (p 167).

Depicted as the same base species as their "master" are Cuza's students, "just as they were in reality: ignorant, lazy, eager to 'show off.'"

In order to complete the moral portrait--if more were needed--in May 1911 a public scandal broke out in Iasi, followed by a noisy court case, in connection with the fact that one of his books "was demonstrated to be a gross plagiarism..."

"The courtroom...was...packed with...young 'patriots', i.e., anti-Semites, from the country's largest cities, who, in order to demonstrate 'pride of race,' would provoke riots, smashing Jewish shop windows and tearing down their signs...As for A.C. Cuza, his defense was lamentable: on the one hand, he could not deny outright the just claim of his adversary, which was displayed in two columns--the classic method of proving plagiarism--and, on the other hand, despite the great seriousness of the problem which concerned him directly much more than others, he insisted on diverting the public's attention away from the substance of the case with all manner of antics, the same customary specialty as in his university courses."

Naturally, the court could not decide in his favor: "Public opinion, certainly, was profoundly satisfied with the decision, which from a political point of view signaled a democratic triumph destined to open the eyes of many men of good faith both uninformed and misinformed, regarding the futile agitator that A.C. Cuza was, and his party" (pp 200-202).

Unfortunately, all this was unable to impede either the ascent of this sombre person or the dark role he played in public life. The passage of time has not spared him the correct judgment of public opinion before which he stands in all his awkward, inner nakedness: with his moral sickness, his precarious intellectual status, and his demagoguery, as noisy as it is insidious.

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ROMANIA

JEWISH NEWSPAPER REPORTS EARTHQUAKE'S EFFECT ON COMMUNITY

Bucharest REVISTA CULTULUI MOZAIC in Romanian 15 Mar 77 p 1

[Editorial: "Days of Grave Trial, but Also of Admirable Solidarity"]

[Text] The powerful earthquake on the evening of 4 March of this year also gravely affected our community, especially the Bucharest community. A few hours earlier--before the advent of the Sabbath--preparations had been completed for the celebration of Purim, which was to take place the next evening. The evening before, in the Choral Temple, a large crowd of the faithful had attended the reading of the Megillah and the festive program prepared with talent and unselfishness. Everything pointed to a joyous Purim, as in previous years, but at 2120 hours disaster struck, and from that moment on life took another course, a tragic one.

The most distressing thing is the human lives that could not be saved, even though everything humanly possible was done. With deep sorrow, the community learned that among the victims were writer Veronica Porumbacu and her husband, the literary critic Mihai Petroveanu, several well-known doctors, and others. As they were pulled out from under the wreckage and identified, the victims were transported to the Jewish Community Cemetery and buried in full accordance with religious laws. His Eminence Chief Rabbi Dr Moses Rosen kept vigil, expressing compassion and words of consolation to the gravely stricken families.

Immediately after the earthquake, measures were taken to help coreligionists who were left without shelter, those who had lost their belongings, and so on. Clothing and money were distributed to those in need. As far as possible, the sufferers were housed temporarily in the Federation's Old People's Homes and in other places.

The quake damaged some temples and synagogues in Bucharest as well as other institutions of the community. Among them: the Choral Temple, the Great Synagogue, the Malbim Synagogue, the Fraterna Temple, and the temple in Atena Street. Also damaged was part of the floor of the Federation's headquarters

as well as food and goods storehouses. During the early hours of Sunday, 6 March, His Eminence and officials of the Federation and the community of Bucharest visited each of these facilities, making on-the-spot checks of the exact proportions of the disaster and indicating measures to be taken to provide safekeeping for goods from damaged buildings and to avert further damage. Unleavened bread was stored up so that this food, so indispensable to the faithful, would not be in short supply in the upcoming Passover Week. As we are writing this report, the operation has been successfully completed.

The earthquake also damaged one wing of the Martin Balus Nursing Home on Negru Voda Street. Happily, there were no victims among the pensioners or service personnel. That part of the hospital was immediately evacuated and the pensioners transferred to safe places.

Operations in the ritual restaurant on Popa Soare Street were adapted to the emergency conditions caused by the quake. Steps were taken to distribute cold food to those who customarily eat at the restaurant as well as those at home.

The federation's leaders maintained constant contact with communities throughout the country. Fortunately, the news was less alarming following an earthquake much smaller than in the capital city. From Craiova, nevertheless, came the report that both temples were damaged. In all cases, the community leaders took advice and counsel on what had to be done. In cases of need, help was given.

Federation leaders made efforts to relieve the justified anxiety and alarm of relatives and coreligionists abroad. Starting Saturday night, His Eminence was in constant telephone contact with newspapers and press agencies in Israel, the United States, the FRG, Austria, and elsewhere who were concerned about the fate of members of our community. His Eminence received messages of condolence and offers of help from a number of Jewish persons and organizations abroad.

Those days will remain inscribed in the chronicle of our community as a time of grave trial. At the same time they will remain a time of valor, of energetic and intelligent efforts, of admirable human solidarity. And on this tragic occasion, the Romanian Jewish community also demonstrated its vitality, good organization, and capacity to face any situation.

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ROMANIA

ROLE OF PUBLIC CONTROL SYSTEM

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 3, Feb 77 pp 10-12

/Article by Gheorghe Petrescu, vice chairman of the National Council of the Socialist Unity Front, chairman of the Central Commission for Coordination and Guidance of Public Control: "Public Control As an Integral Part of Our Socialist Democracy"/

/Text/ Romania's rapid economic and social-cultural development is accompanied by a continuous process of perfecting socialist democracy as well as the organizational and political framework of workers' participation in the management of all social activity. In his speech at the Plenum of the National Council of the FUS /Socialist Unity Front/ in April 1976, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that socialist democracy, the participation of the masses in the control and management of all fields of activity, is an essential feature of party and state policy and a prerequisite for the construction of our fully developed socialist society.

Founded upon socialist ownership of the production means and upon all workers' community of interests and aspirations, socialist democracy opens up a broad field for the unrestricted assertion of creative aptitudes, talents and energy.

We can actually say that today our working class and masses are participating in the management and control of all sectors of political, economic, social and cultural activity on all levels and by all members of society, regardless of their place and function in the social division of labor. The truly democratic nature of this control follows from its broad scope, the aims it pursues in the general interests of society, the entire people, and consequently every individual citizen, and from the widespread participation in its exercise.

Constant improvement of the organization and management of the national economy and the expanded functions of the socioeconomic and territorial-administrative units have regularly enhanced the role of control exercised by society. One of the major measures taken by our party and state was the establishment of control of socioeconomic activity in a uniform system on all organizational levels from the central organs down to the enterprise, the basic unit of our economy. These efforts also include the institutionalization of public control,

a highly important factor in our socialist democratic system and a form of the masses' direct participation in the improvement of all social activity as well as a means of enlisting public opinion in control of the implementation of party and state decisions in all sectors of society.

Creating the best conditions for the exercise of mass control and for its orientation toward the main problems of socialist construction and the achievement of high effectiveness is a constant concern of the party administration and its secretary general. To meet the present requirements of the construction of our fully developed socialist society, the party has deemed it absolutely necessary to organize public control under the auspices of the FUS, permitting better coordination of this vital social activity while enhancing the authority and competence of the public controllers and obtaining better results from their labors. By uniting all categories of workers, the FUS secures the participation of the component organizations with public control functions as an expression of their greater role in society and in our socialist democratic system.

The organization and exercise of control in Romania are based upon the principle that the responsibility for the progress of every socioeconomic unit's activity is primarily that of the workers' collectives as owners, producers and beneficiaries of the national wealth and of the collective management organs of the respective units. In close accord with this principle and with the requirements of the present stage of our society, workers' control of socioeconomic activity is characterized by a number of features that can be summed up as follows: profound democratism in the form of extensive involvement of the masses of workers in the exercise of control; profound and comprehensive analysis of socioeconomic phenomena; high standards and firmness regarding implementation of party decisions and the laws of the land; objectivity and high principles in the investigation of problems and causes of legal violations and in establishing guilt; and a sense of responsibility for the conclusions drawn and the recommended measures so that control will become a powerful means of improving socioeconomic activity, preventing the appearance or repetition of negative phenomena, perfecting activity, and generalizing favorable experience.

Law No 6 of 1972 on the organization and exercise of public control determines the broad scope of control, including improvement of production and sales of the industrial and agricultural-food products for public consumption, perfection of services and performance in medical, social and cultural institutions of all kinds, and proper management and use of the material resources made available to society to improve the people's living and working conditions. Over 40,000 public control teams comprising 170,000 members are taking part in this important social activity, and more than 130,000 state and cooperative units are being controlled. It may be said that practically no institution or activity, nor any sector directly contributing to the good service of the public, is outside the legally provided scope of public control.

The trade unions play a very important part in the public control system. According to the said law, they organize and exercise public control in the units producing consumer goods and over the observance of the legal standards for labor protection and prevention of environmental pollution. Under the FUS and in

collaboration with the other component organizations, the trade unions also contribute to public control in all areas of social activity. This extensive effort of theirs, provided by law, is indicative of their mobilizing power (most members of the public control teams, 127,000 of them, belong to a trade union), their long experience in this field, and their ability to carry out the recommendations of the teams and remedy the indicated defects. The trade unions' capacity to create and mobilize intransigent public opinion against defects and their rightful participation in the collective management organs on all levels (from enterprises to the central organs) enables them to intervene successfully for the efficiency and greater effectiveness of public control.

As a representative of the interests of the masses and a collective organizer of their opinion, public control is an important educational factor in our society. As bearers of the mandate of a community to which they are responsible, and involved in a highly responsible and socially useful activity, the public controllers develop their personalities and educate themselves and the others in the spirit of high moral standards. Accordingly in the climate of human relations characteristic of our system public control makes a valuable contribution to the consolidation and observance of the norms of social coexistence, to the entire people's acquisition of the advanced morality of the working class, and to the development of socialist awareness. As the law states, "Public control acts as a factor for civic education, contributing to the development of an advanced attitude of the workers in the public service units, to the generalization of favorable experience, to the fight against negligence, indifference and irresponsibility toward the public interest and the conservation of public property, and to the observance of socialist legality."

One of the main features of public control is the breadth of its content and the problems it attacks in connection with the essential aspects of the activities of the controlled units and sectors. This is what lends it its mass character and great significance for better management and use of the resources made available to society and for satisfaction of the people's material and cultural needs. The members of the public control teams (workers, engineers, technicians, physicians, teachers, cooperative farmers, pupils and students, housewives and pensioners) devote part of their spare time, economic spirit and civic feeling to helping the progress of the socioeconomic units.

In the 5 years since its institutionalization public control has made a major contribution by enlisting the workers, in a particular way, in the implementation of party policy in essential areas of society. A great many of the public control teams' recommendations have been applied in enterprises, industrial centrals, people's councils and ministries. Public control has directly contributed to the solution of such problems as improvement of public supply, services and transportation, better geographic distribution of the trade, service and health networks, improvement of product quality, diversification and renovation of consumer goods, diversification of services to the public, development and equipment of recently urbanized communities or those included in the urbanization plan, and municipal administrative and social provisions for the new districts being built in all cities.

Steadily advancing toward its fully developed socialist society, Romania is making rapid economic and social progress. The people's material and cultural

lives are becoming fuller and better every year. The tasks assigned in the Directives of the 11th Party Congress and the great aims of the five-year plan of the technical-scientific revolution call for the exploitation of all material resources as well as the people's working and creative capacity. Hence also the need of further improvement in the organization and management of the national economy, socialist democracy, and the approach to work in all fields. This process is in full swing. Certainly the innovating spirit promoted by the party will be reflected in public control activity.

In pursuance of Nicolae Ceausescu's valuable directions at the Plenum in April 1976 and at the meeting of the Executive Bureau of the National Council of the FUS in December 1976, the National Council of the FUS instituted a number of measures to improve public control to meet the current and long-range requirements for Romania's development. Accordingly in the second half of January 1977 county conferences were held throughout the nation to analyze the performance of public control. They were attended by about 14,000 persons, supervisors and members of the teams, trade union leaders and presidents from the controlled enterprises and institutions, representatives of the organs of specialized state control and of management organs on the county level, and activists of the local councils of the FUS and component organizations. The county conferences were occasions for extensive discussions, reporting and expansion of the advanced experience of the best public control teams, improvement of the working methods and approach, and recommendations to perfect public control.

Although public control activity and its results are constantly improving, they are not yet in keeping with the party's assignments, the broad institutional framework that has been created, or the forces engaged in this effort. The way the teams are formed is conspicuous. Experience shows that satisfactory results are obtained by teams composed of the best workers, with an adequate political and occupational training, correct behavior at work and in society, and a high sense of public responsibility.

The capacity of public control to skillfully approach problems of the nature of the activities of the controlled enterprises, institutions and sectors is still a key problem. At the conference with party and state activists in ministries and central institutions, in pointing out the importance attached to control in our society, Nicolae Ceausescu said, "We need control, but a control qualified in all respects that will not be satisfied to make a finding and then refer it to the higher organs or the Central Committee. We need a control that will take action in units for the specific, prompt solution of the problems." Hence the urgent necessity of better use of the opportunities created and of finding new ways of improving the competence of public control. To this end it is primarily important to make a good selection of team members and to include specialists in the fields of control, while devising methods for continuing instruction of the teams and their periodic information as to the most recent regulations and instructions concerning the activities of the controlled sectors.

Whatever form is taken by the control our society exercises over socioeconomic development, it is no end in itself but a means to the best achievement of the aims of the construction of our fully developed socialist society. Viewing

matters in this light, we find there are still instances of red tape in the performance of public control. Sometimes in the evaluation of control work priority is given to quantitative considerations, the number of controls exercised, the reports and statistics, overlooking the essential factor of the most effective result of this activity. To be sure the capacity of control to favorably affect socioeconomic activity depends upon the improvement of its qualitative aspects in every respect: promptness, competence, profound analysis etc. But it is equally true that an important part is played here by the receptiveness of the controlled units' managements to the recommendations of public control. Failure to take prompt steps on the part of those expected to see to the implementation of the notices and proposals has often impaired the effectiveness of control. Public control can and must intervene to remedy these defects. It is a primary requirement in all cases to make sure that the findings and recommendations of the control teams reach the directors of the controlled units, who are required by law to resolve them. At any rate, control cannot be considered complete without the guarantee that matters will be rectified.

In this connection, those attending the county conferences advocated the adoption of better methods of increasing the responsibility of the managements of enterprises and institutions for the prompt and decisive resolution of the findings of the control teams, and the adoption of effective measures against those who disregard control in violation of the legal provisions.

Other points can also be made in the light of the acquired experience and the current tasks requiring more effective public control. The role of the commissions for coordination and guidance in the efficiency and implementation of public control is well known. In view of this fact the county conferences pointed out the importance of investing the commissions with the right to control the resolution of the control teams' notices and recommendations. The recommendation should also be noted of including in the text of the law the express obligation of the specialized state control organs to check, in the course of their service functions, the resolution of the control teams' findings and suggestions by the controlled units and to take appropriate measures.

Experience bears out the importance of exchanges of experience among the public control units. The fact is that perhaps more than in any other field, regular dialog with the citizens and the deputies who represent them on the people's councils, as well as comparison of views among the controllers, permit a better knowledge of the facts and the needs and views of the masses as well as a fruitful collaboration among the control teams and between them and the controlled units. All these points favorably affect the quality of the control, its constructive-critical and educational character and, ultimately, the prompt and effective solution of the problems arising from control. On this basis, the county conferences opted for the institutionalization of the periodic communal, city, municipal and county public control conferences and their organization by the FUS. In this connection it is considered useful to exercise directed controls in certain sectors, that is simultaneously in several units of the same kind and in several communities, which controls will permit drawing conclusions and adopting measures valid both on the level of the respective units and on the scale of the centrals, ministries and people's councils.

As we know, in the light of the party administration's directions the Executive Bureau of the National Council of the FUS decided to hold the national conference on public control activity in February of this year. By virtue of its scope and its mission, the conference is expected to discuss the conclusions drawn and the recommendations made at the county conferences and to adopt and recommend to the party and state administrations and the National Council of the FUS measures that will reinforce public control. The conference will accordingly be a landmark in the development and improvement of public control activity and an expression of the profound democratism of our socialist system.

5186

CSO: 2700

YUGOSLAVIA

DJILAS ASSAILED ON VARIOUS GROUNDS AS 'NONHUMAN PERSON'

Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 11 Apr 77 p 6

[Article by V. Teslic: "If He Were To Take Power..."]

[Text] Aside from other useful purposes, the memoirs of revolutionaries usually shed light on the illustrious moral character of authors who have exchanged rifles for the pen, always in the service of progress and humaneness.

When we casually leaf through "The Young Revolutionary," published by the Molden firm of West Germany, it is difficult not to raise the question of the morality of an author who is interested not in the revolution, onto which he throws mud so persistently in his Sisyphean way, but in the moral defamation of persons who have--in one way or another--constructed the grand mosaic of one of the most humane of revolutions.

In this revised version of a book published in the United States in 1973, Milovan Djilas, the self-proclaimed theoretician of the "free person," the "free world," and "free human relations," attempts to settle accounts with people in an arrogant and crude manner, without any scruples--and not only with persons who participated in the revolution but also with others whom he just happened to meet or who ever got in his way.

The book reveals Djilas's exceptional bent for scheming, for tricking people, informing on people, leading people astray. His apologists from diverse intelligence and propaganda services abroad have tried to depict him on various occasions, usually under his amateurish impressionistic direction, as an authentic theoretician of 20th-century revolution, as a visionary of universal human liberation, as a heretic and critic of every conformism, as an aesthete and great writer, thinker and philosopher, who has some sort of message in his reflections on anything and everything.

Ode to Stalin--For His Own Sake

Yet he is faithful solely to himself and his settling of accounts with people, to his cynicism, to his conceited ambitions, to his delusions of grandeur. In the process, he makes abundant use of distortions of fact and untruths, always with a specific plan for ingratiating himself with somebody abroad for whose interests he is at work.

For quite specific reasons, he would like--among other things--to concern himself with present-day Yugoslavia, with which he otherwise has nothing in common. As a rule, he is the least successful at this.

We shall cite just a few examples of his confused and ambivalent approach to the facts of our country, not in order to engage in polemics with him but rather in order to demonstrate his moral character.

Yugoslavia, he says, is constantly violating human rights!

Is this the reaction of someone who has been deprived of his rights, a persecuted person, a threatened person? Or of a patriot concerned with Yugoslavia's international prestige?

No, these are the words of a provocateur, above all.

What is involved here is a calculated provocation on order from those who are paying him. Yugoslavia might conceivably be reproached for leaving nonhuman beings [neljudi] alone with all human and other rights. For there are human beings [ljudi] and nonhuman beings. If nonhuman beings are allowed to engage in provocations at any price, then human beings might be suffering as well!

"I am unafraid of imprisonment," he says in his provoking way, "because in that case the authorities would lose more!"

Is this courage, arrogance, or delusions of grandeur?

No, it is cowardice! While he was in prison, he wailed for freedom. At liberty, he engages in provocations in order to go to prison, and he wails for at least a little power.

If he is not a charlatan, he is a lickspittle and a corrupt person.

When he was in power, he inflicted more damage on democracy, he insulted, distressed, and harmed more people than anybody in the whole postwar era. No one else wrote an ode to Stalin as he did, not for Stalin's sake but for the sake of himself and his own egoism.

Was and Remains a Nonhuman Being [Necovek]

Various renegades and traitors have come to light in our milieu, but none of them has fallen so low as Milovan Djilas, the self-proclaimed theoretician of anticommunism.

The meaning of his messages and appeals is not ideological or political, as he would like to depict things, but nonhuman, the message of a stool pigeon. To this end, he spits on the country that gave him everything, including the generous opportunity not to make amends and not to answer for his numerous transgressions.

First and foremost, he was always and has remained a nonhuman being, and everything else only afterwards. He has been consistent and successful only in his nonhumanity. How otherwise can we explain the fact that, on the sole basis of power, he pursued "decadents" amidst poets, experts amidst ignoramuses, nonconformists amidst conformists, democrats amidst dogmatists?

Whence such crudeness and arrogance? A genuine revolutionary has asked himself the question.

Rodoljub Colakovic, in his book entitled "Statements About a Generation," provides a sketch of this "dervish" who was mercilessly pressing every person into the Procrustean bed of the canons that he and the other dogmatists had invented. This is probably the most humane description of the most unhumane person in that whole generation, which can explain many things about the nonhuman aspect of this nonhuman being even today.

"Without any understanding of the democratic breadth of our movement, uneducated, without experience, without a gift for systematic activity and sober analysis...capricious and power-hungry, Djilas comprehended power in a peculiar way--as though he were the headman of a huge cooperative."

"He interfered in everything, giving not appraisals but verdicts that were not subject to appeal--on all subjects, from politics and literature to whether this or that party member could marry this or that person. He spewed forth opinions about people glibly, and so forth. He gathered people around him, an 'informal group' in today's terminology, who would zealously disseminate as the 'Party stand' everything that he had been saying on any subject."

Insensitive to Contempt

This profile inexorably led Djilas, Colakovic concludes, to the "inglorious band of well-known renegades of the communist movement. He was accepted cordially by those who take such renegades to be authentic witnesses to the fact that communism is untenable as a theory and leads in practice to unfreedom and the blockage of every prospect for mankind." In his elucubrations, Colakovic writes, "one does not know which is more miserable, his self-taught pretentiousness, his spiteful derision, or his calumnious defamation of persons."

What he is doing, then, is neither heresy nor dissidence in the name of some higher ideals, which he lacks anyway. It is just cheap service for foreign masters, which our people has always despised to the greatest extent. In any case, he has long since been politically dead in Yugoslavia.

Devoid of personal feelings himself, he is also insensitive to the contempt of the people in which he originated, but he is unhappy when people ignore him, since that lowers his price as a paid provocateur.

To ignore him is the basic human right of a people that has based its morality and humanism in the revolution and enriches its morality and humanism in its own socialist democracy. Hence the humaneness of this people toward a nonhuman person.

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

DJILAS ANALYZES DISSENT IN EASTERN EUROPE

Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 13 Apr 77 p 6

[Article by Milovan Djilas: "Dissent, Spring..."]

[Text] There are many reasons for dissent in the nations of communist Europe. Perhaps the most important of these is not peculiar to the regimes of East Europe. We might call it "human nature." Human nature is capable of suffering and submitting because it has a very great capacity for adaptation and habituation; however, it does not, in the long run, tolerate definitive values and closed and perfect societies. After a more or less long time, it rebels against them. Now, the systems of communist Europe are set forth as "the truth" without appeal and as the "best possible" societies. I do not want to enter into the merits of this dispute but I say that even if the assumption were true, human nature would rebel against this definitive state and against this anguished somnolence beyond which no other possible future can be seen; no new idea; no new form of the possible.

However, there exist much more specific reasons than this very general one to understand dissent in the East European nations. To a great extent they are known. And the most important among them comes from the awareness that in those nations--in the name of a not-necessarily utopian ideal--a tyrannical domination has been affirmed on all of society precisely by those forces, the party, the party bureaucracy and social groups allied with them, which claim to direct the "construction of the new society."

The idea that a new society can be built is in itself bizarre. It is not evidently a question of the Keope Pyramid or of the White Sea Canal, but of the life of peoples and nations. That is why I say it is a bizarre idea. To the extent that I have studied and understood the works of Karl Marx, they do not even contain a trace of such an idea. Marx tried to make men understand the idea of "progress" as a reality in constant change and explained the ineluctability of the revolutionary leap under certain conditions. Marx even said that in the period of transition the proletariat must check to be sure that the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is not being restored. There is an abyss between this and the theory of the permanent

role of the "vanguard" and of its privileges which are supposed to last until the moment the perfect society is built. Someone could describe this theory as madness, but as Shakespeare wrote in Hamlet "there is a method in this madness."

In fact terror has become eternal and it has been justified by teachings concerning the need to proceed in this way until it is possible to cause the state to wither. This base has supported the growth and institutionalization of the degenerations of the system, the parasitism of the bureaucracy, the inequalities within a structure that postulated equality as the most important objective to be achieved. And form and substance was given to the distinction, totally foreign to Marxist teaching, between conscious forces and the guided masses.

These degenerations remained hidden in some way like a hidden script until the unmasking of the Stalinist terror made critical persons think and until the submission of East Europe to the USSR, which was taken through the force of arms, introduced ferment and diversity within the Soviet area itself. Later there was the "split from the Soviet empire, first by Yugoslavia, and then by China and Albania, and finally the Hungarian revolt, disorders in Poland, and the Czechoslovak spring of 1968. These ferments and contradictions produced important effects even (rather, especially) within the communist parties of the West European industrial nations; but this is a problem in itself which is only marginally relevant to the theme of dissent within the USSR and the communist nations of Eastern Europe. Within Eastern Europe the currents of dissent are different from one nation to another and they differ both in terms of motivation as well as intensity, but common to all is the demand for respect of human rights. The struggle for human rights links the various currents among themselves because they are a value that no one in societies that describe themselves as socialist can openly deny, all the more because these rights are part of their initial inspiration and have been even codified within their official ideologies and their specific constitutional legislation.

Ten or 15 years ago it could even have seemed that dissent within the USSR had no chance, but today it is no longer thus. Dissent in the USSR is neither more widespread nor more organized than it was then, but it is certainly more varied and more surprising. The authorities dispersed the dissidents, but they emerged again more numerous and their protests are more intense. These currents in the Soviet Union center around individual and important personalities: Sakharov and Amalrik, rationalism and democracy; Solzhenitsyn, orthodox faith and conservatism; Medvedev, Leninist reform... One thing is certain, the Soviet regime has entered a blind alley and that is why dissent is inevitable, a sort of natural phenomenon.

The highest forms, the most conscious and most realistic of this movement, are contained in Charter 77. Charter 77 in reality expresses the position of the wisest and most courageous sons of the Czech and Slovak people,

which the 1968 tragedy liberated not only from the illusion of the "Soviet brother" but also from the ideology of the perfect society. Its conclusions and demands are applicable to every nation of East Europe and it is not by chance that it has not been published in any of these nations, with the sole exception of Yugoslavia where it has been published, among other things, in a semi-pornographic magazine.

The careful reader admires the form of Charter 77 almost more than he does its content: a harmonious dignified conviction. It is the most mature, complete program that has emerged from East Europe from the time of the war until today and this is not a miracle because Charter 77 represents the follow-up to the Czechoslovak spring of 1968; it comes from the very life, the social and national reality, not from dogmas. The tolerant and indestructible democratic nature of the Czech and Slovak people spoke through Charter 77.

It could be the point of reference of all the dissidents, the subjected people, the anonymous people without rights who live in the immense area called Eastern Europe. If someone were to ask me what is the result so far achieved by this movement, in the midst of so many efforts and so much suffering and defeat, I would reply: because of it, the existence of the opposition has been recognized. An opposition now exists and those in power must take this into account. They believe they can exorcise it by describing it as "treasonous" and "renegade;" but they are no longer able to destroy it.

6034

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'TRIBUNA' ANSWERS 'DELO' CRITICISM OF 'ALELUJA JOINT'

Ljubljana TRIBUNA in Slovenian 20 Feb 77 pp 4-5

[Two-part article by Ales Erjavec and Sreco Kirn]

[Text] The student fortnightly paper TRIBUNA resumed publication in November 1976. In 1975-1976 TRIBUNA experienced many difficulties and as a consequence, the situation in its editorial offices at the beginning of the new academic year was in disarray. TRIBUNA was in need of editors, a printing press, distributors, electric power and so on. Notwithstanding these difficulties the editorial board has so far published seven issues--two of which were double--and made an effort to reenter the social domain of the Ljubljana students and youth in general. TRIBUNA also was subject to criticism. The first issue was criticized by KOMUNIST and it may be said that the criticism was well argued. We knew to what KOMUNIST objected, since the journal made its views clear.

The seventh issue of TRIBUNA (1976-1977), or the first issue of the 1977 volume that came out on 19 January 1977, carried a review of two books of new poems published by the Student's Cultural Center in Ljubljana. The two books came out in the second half of December 1976 and have since been available in bookstores. TRIBUNA, as a student newspaper is, of course, interested in following the events at the university and among the students. Accordingly, the editorial board decided to publish the reviews as well as poems from each of the two collections so as to present the authors to its readers. This was then a critical and informative act. The editorial board felt there was no problem with the poems because they had been for sale for some time. A DELO journalist, incidentally, had published a favorable review of both books soon after their publication.

In publishing two poems by Boris Gabersnik, TRIBUNA desired neither to incite antireligious bigotry nor to upset religious persons. It was simply a matter of presenting a representative selection from the two collections of poems. However, in view of the response the poem "Aleluja Joint" received in the press, the editorial board agrees that its publication was inappropriate and is willing to admit its mistake to the extent that the quoted poem indeed evoked such response. We sincerely apologize to all concerned.

One thing, however, is not clear--namely, how can it be that a poem is unacceptable in a paper but quite acceptable when it appears in a book. Here, too, we can guess the answer: A paper with its circulation of 3,000 copies reaches a wider audience than a book of which only a few hundred copies were printed. Here, however, one immediately runs into another problem. The editorial board of DELO decided to publish (DELO, Wednesday, 26 January 1977) B. Dolnicar's comments titled "Wrong Direction," which questions the motives of TRIBUNA's editorial board and criticizes the above-mentioned poem. So far so good, but there is something more, another dimension to these comments. The publication of the above-mentioned poem is made to appear as an extension and part of TRIBUNA's editorial policy. Thus the following is the matter: On reading Dolnicar's article it is clear that he refers to Gabersnik's poem but at the same time one senses that TRIBUNA, after all, is not "the genuine thing," because of its "self-proclaimed revolutionary character," its "obstreperous poking around," and because its "budding academic mind has to resort to obscene invective, churlish malice and deprecatory remarks." Anyway, there is only "a handful of students" among its readers, and so on.

Accordingly, TRIBUNA is of self-proclaimed revolutionary character, sensationalist, meddlesome in affairs that would best be left alone, and does not represent and is not read by the students. This is a lie. TRIBUNA's subscribers are mainly students and most of its copies are sold at the university or around it. Members of its editorial board are regularly enrolled students and its contributors, with rare exceptions, are students or educators, but first of all they are young people because TRIBUNA is a publication of the Slovenian Youth Federation not of the student's guild. We can find no references in TRIBUNA purporting to represent Boris Gabersnik's work as the "latest in the Slovenian youth poetry" (quotes by Boris Dolnicar).

In any case, it is obvious that something else is the matter here. In its seven issues that have been published so far TRIBUNA on three occasions wrote negatively about articles which appeared in DELO. The first of these pertained to Cankar's memorial in Zvezda, the second to Javorsek's polemics in DELO and the third to the proposal by Ljubljana Bank to introduce two kinds of checking accounts, one for the rich and another for the poor. In the latter instance TRIBUNA commented on the uncritical reporting of the DELO journalist on this idea. We may be wrong but we are afraid that we are not. Dolnicar's article reflects anger that has been stewing for a long time. Is he or the DELO editorial board taking umbrage? His article is a sensational copy, not a critical appraisal. We think that B. Dolnicar should also be aware that publication of such writings as his--condemning TRIBUNA as a whole rather than the specific poem or the fact that it was published in TRIBUNA--in the leading Slovenian daily paper DELO can have far-reaching consequences. There is a difference between DELO writing about TRIBUNA and TRIBUNA writing about DELO as there is a difference in publishing a poem in a book where it may be acceptable or in a paper where it may no longer be acceptable. We are afraid that B. Dolnicar and the editors of DELO, notwithstanding were well aware of all this.

[signed] A.E.

The note in DELO of 26 January 1977 urgently demands an answer from the editorial board of TRIBUNA. The question arises: What kind of an answer? Is the answer supposed to declare the entire editorial policy of the Socialist Alliance of Working People's paper DELO to be a creative activity of the journalistic mind (it probably is not clear to Comrade Boris Dolnicar what meaning is attached to such concepts as "mind," "reason" or even "sound mind and reason," or he would not use such concepts in the pejorative sense) which resorts to obscene invective, political perversion, churlish malice, deprecatory comments and appropriates for itself some kind of revolutionary status to further its own private interests. Or is the answer supposed to evaluate critically (from the viewpoint of historical materialism) specific articles appearing in the paper? I think it is clear to the editorial board that the course of genuine criticism should be aimed at exposing the contradictions of our society, its entanglement in old relationships and anticipation of the future (through the development of self-management); in the heart of the matter there is only the second of the above-mentioned methods which permits the dialectical method, because it has as one of its inherent properties the ability to synthesize (theoretically characterize) the course of contradictions through things individual and specific to the general. Of course, this is a long, tortuous and difficult path, demanding a great deal of knowledge and ability on the part of the writer to introduce in his writings the dialectical charge, setting it in conflict with every mode of soundly reasoned sense, which is lost either in some kind of general definition of an editorial policy without finding the connection with the specific or individual works forming the whole or generality, or on the basis of a specificity or individuality sinks its teeth into a general and overall alinement and out of triumph of the--to him--emerging soundly reasoned greatness fails to perceive the actual, practical and theoretical pettiness of its own rationale.

Such soundly reasoned writing certainly constitutes the copy of your journalist Boris Dolnicar, who, apart from the poem by Boris Gabersnik, could not quote a single article from which our supposed pseudorevolutionary or self-appointed revolutionary character could be inferred, not a single article by which the editorial board of TRIBUNA attempted to exclude in an elitist and prepossessing manner other writers from its pages. If you had been following TRIBUNA's activities you could have seen announcements inviting all who wanted to contribute their articles to come to our meetings. Likewise, a closer perusal of TRIBUNA would reveal that 33 persons had their contributions published in its seven issues, of which two were double and one topical. This does not include the persons who assisted in preparing the graphical layout of the paper. Accordingly, Comrade Boris Dolnicar's note can only constitute a deviation from his slogan of quality reporting (the writer may well consider himself to be objective) just as if there were something greater than quality reporting.

[signed] S.K.

12070
CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

ADDITIONS TO BAKARIC ZAGREB PRESS CONFERENCE

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 17 Apr 77 p 7

[Excerpts] Pavle Jankovic, LE MONDE: What is the number of political prisoners in Yugoslavia?

Dr. Vladimir Bakaric: There are 502 persons in Prisons in Yugoslavia, including those who cursed some of us.

Boza Bozic, APA: Does the possibility exist of rehabilitating party leaders who were previously removed, if they change their position?

Not long ago we had the opportunity to read that Sreten Zujovic was posthumously rehabilitated; can the dismissed leaders be rehabilitated in their lifetime?

And also, how do some organizations operate with losses, while they conceal the fact? What can in this case be undertaken against people who are to blame for losses? Can this be categorized as a criminal act?

Dr. Bakaric: Have some leading people from the past period returned to their functions? Not to their positions, but some have returned to the Party. Thus Zujovic admitted what he had done, earlier he became a member of the party, he was present at some celebrations. There are also others who, like him, were accepted in the party.

Dr. Berislav Sefer: Losses in the economy cannot be attributed to negligence of individuals alone, although that also exists, but it is the combination of other, in some cases also objective, circumstances. Therefore it is not only a matter of individuals being responsible for losses. However, when one operates in a criminal way with social funds, then this is also treated as a crime.

Gustav Chalupa, ORF: Earlier party congresses were regularly late, they were not held within the statutory period. The next, the 11th Congress, will be held on time. What is happening?

Dr. Bakaric: It is correct, earlier congresses were late because there were many discussions and many open questions and we tried to bring the discussion to a conclusion. Therefore, we did not hold congresses at a regular time. The party line and the program of further development have been defined, there is no intention to change this line, so that the 11th Congress and all the republic congresses, for which preparations have started already, will be held by the middle of next year.

CSO: 2800

END